

SOCIAL FORCES

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SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1944

CULTURE CHANGE AND PERSONALITY IN A RURAL SOCIETY*

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of rural society in America can be described as the change from relatively homogeneous, self-sufficient communities to communities with differentiated societies and economic systems dependent upon the urban market. The recognition of this change is fundamental in contemporary rural sociology, since the concepts of "urbanization" and "specialization" are of basic importance in that field.¹ Aside from the empirical and historical aspects, however, it is possible to consider the transition in terms of certain theoretical approaches to the problems of culture change.

The particular theoretical scheme we shall utilize in this paper is allied to the sociological tradition of which Ferdinand Tönnies was the classic exponent. This tradition is characterized by a conceptual view of culture and society as consisting of two ideal-typical forms of social organization, with correlated mentalities. These types, tendencies, or principles have been variously termed: *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*, folk-urban, ideal-sensate, organismic-mechanistic, sacred-secular—to mention the more prominent. These terms have been used to denote both total societal types and particular sectors of social action.

In case studies of empirical societies, these polar constructs are used as types which define a range of variability within which the socio-cultural

phenomena may lie. The goal is not merely to 'type' the society in terms of its position on the sacred-secular continuum, but to determine how and why the society has changed in certain directions, and what generalizations with predictive utility can be made about the processes of change. We want to know if societies with certain internal structures, when subject to certain types of influence, will change in relatively consistent and predictable ways.

Of major importance for inquiries of this kind is the concept of *transition*, as referring to the general type or specific kind of change toward the urban-secular-heterogeneous pole occurring in given cases. A transitional society is one which has experienced modifications in its folk-sacred structure as a result of direct influence from an urban-secular society, or through *sui generis* internal differentiation, or both. It is important to attempt a definition of the variety of transition in particular cases for use later in comparative studies.²

The society from which the data in this paper has been drawn seems to display what might be called an "equilibrium" between urban-secular and

* Materials in this paper were secured while the author was a member of the southern Illinois Culture and Foodways Study, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and the University of Chicago in 1941, and directed in the field by Herbert Passin.

¹ Cf. J. H. Kolb & E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (New York, 1935), especially chaps. I-VII.

² Such research must proceed in two directions: (a) Case studies of empirical societies in the contemporary "rural" and "primitive" contexts. Such studies must be oriented in terms of specific problems and not merely random, overall "community studies." (b) Comparative research on published case studies of the smaller societies, to establish a typology of transition. Presumably hypotheses derived from this second approach would be tested by field studies, as in (a). Available comparative material is exemplified by the University of Chicago's "peasant peoples" studies, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics Rural Life Studies, and many American Indian "acculturation" studies.

folk-sacred elements. That is, exterior influences contributing toward change and the resulting internal differentiation have been brought into interaction with certain remaining folk tendencies, so that a *relatively* conflict-free situation is achieved in many areas of culture and social action.

One of the important problems in the field of transitional culture concerns the relation of the individual to the changed or changing culture. If a society and culture give evidence of differentiation and secularization but also exhibit retention of many attitudes and practices which from historical research can be shown to be attributable to the older homogeneous culture, it is pertinent to inquire whether the co-existence of such elements results in conflict-situations both socially and psychologically. To what extent has it been possible to rationalize and integrate the changes with the older pattern, both from the standpoint of social process and individual personalities?

If, for example, it is found that one of the consequences of socio-economic differentiation is increased economic insecurity, but that the older values and attitudes of a competitive, equalitarian society are still functional, can we expect evidence of conflict and frustration in individuals? What socio-economic and cultural processes assist in the rationalization and interaction of these "incompatible" elements?³

To explore some of the implications of this general problem, we shall present a brief analysis of a rural society in southern Illinois, which has apparently experienced culture change of the type mentioned above.

THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The riverbottom and adjoining areas at the southern tip of Illinois were settled principally by groups of Old Americans⁴ from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, resulting in an extension of the southern hill-country culture pattern into the more typical midwestern Illinois rural culture.

³ Space permits no more than a bare listing of the background sources from which our theoretical position has been derived: For our view of social and cultural change, we acknowledge the influence of C. H. Cooley, H. Becker. For ideal type theory, R. Redfield. For the individual and culture, G. H. Mead, and on a more strictly methodological level, K. Lewin.

⁴ A term referring to the old Scotch-English-Irish ethnic element distributed across the eastern United States to the Ozarks and particularly important in the highland areas.

The ecology of the Southern Illinois region is such that a basic division between hill and bottomland country has determined the division of sub-cultural units from the earliest times.

The society analyzed in this paper is located in a broad bottomland area along the Ohio River and extending along two counties. The first settlers of this area and sub-culture (which is locally called "The Bottoms" by residents of other sub-cultures in the region) were apparently a few southern Negroes, some of them escaped slaves. These people cleared very little land and remained relatively isolated from one another. The white settlers at the northeast and northwest margins of the Bottoms considered the area a noisome jungle, the source of "fever mists," and fit only for Negroes.

Gradually the whites penetrated the area, establishing small subsistence farms. At the same time, certain observant farmers and a few local men from the nearby villages conceived of the Bottoms as a source of flat, cheap land, and therefore began to buy and clear tracts of bottomland. By about 1870, the Bottoms had been rather well cleared and settled, and supported a fairly large number of families, each on a subsistence farm. But many of these farms were on land owned by another man, who permitted the tenant to pay rent in the form of produce. The Negroes were forced out to the northern margins of the Bottoms.

Thus at a relatively early date, the Bottoms displayed a socio-economic pattern different from the general regional early-period subsistence-farm type. The difference lay in the presence of an as yet simple, vague, but nonetheless real superordinate class—the landlords. In the other regional sub-areas, no such socio-economic stratification was present.

The general culture of this early "settlement" period will not be discussed in detail, since this has been done elsewhere.⁵ In brief, it conformed to the typical self-sufficient early nineteenth century American rural community: small subsistence farms; closely-knit extended family structure; well-developed patterns of mutual aid; communal gatherings such as picnics, barn-raising, and the like; personal status differences but only vague socio-economic class distinctions. In other words,

⁵ Vide H. Passin, "Culture Change in Southern Illinois," *Rural Sociology*, 7: No. 3 (1942), and H. Passin and J. W. Bennett, "Social Process and Dietary Change," *National Research Council, Bulletin 108* (1943).

within the rural American tradition,⁶ the community was homogeneous, "sacred," and in general folk-like.

As time went on, emphasis began to shift away from subsistence farming and toward a cash-crop system. The first decade of the present century saw the most important phase of this change. Landlords began to reduce acreage devoted to subsistence agriculture and increase the corn acreage; this led directly to the beginning of a share-cropping system. Economic inequalities between families began to develop, based on type and amount of rented land. At the same time, the shantyboat fisherman of the river became more numerous, and relations between them and the land dwellers became fixed. This "intermediate tenancy" period saw the development of a 3-level socio-economic system, consisting of landlords, tenants, and river people, in a rough super- to subordinate order. This differentiation was as yet not clear-cut, since many privately-owned single farms still remained in the Bottoms, and the owners of these were apparently not generally regarded as socially superordinate to the tenants. Also, participation in communal activities and mutual aid was general for all land-dwellers; no one was excluded because of inequality of land holdings. The river people were the only definitely exterior group.

In a word, status attitudes were imperfectly correlated with socio-economic groupings; lateral associational ties were stronger than the forces of differentiation.

The succeeding years saw an increasingly accelerated change toward the tenancy-sharecropping

⁶ By this we mean that the rural American folk-type has a distinctness which separates it from folk societies in other historical traditions: primitive, Spanish-American, etc. For example, the values surrounding "individualism" are important for the American folk base (K. MacLiesh and K. Young, *Londaff, N. H.*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics Rural Life Study, No. 3 (1942). This individualistic tradition should be distinguished from *individuation*, or the individual-isolating process as typified by urban-secular society. In American folk-individualism, individual freedom is valued in terms of its conformity with certain pervasive standards held (ideally) by the whole society. Although a person may "stick to his own affairs," he nevertheless conforms and is expected to conform to generally-understood forms of interaction, such as mutual aid. This can be readily distinguished from urban "individualism," which contains a minimum of obligation to the whole society and places strong value upon unique and "different" behavior. The individual (ideal-typically) is isolated.

agricultural system. The booming cash-crop situation and agricultural mechanization resulted in the landlord's removal of about half the tenants from the Bottoms, since it was more efficient to group separate tracts under one operation and since tractors made it possible for "one man to do the work of five." Dispossessed families began migrating through the region, seeking a stable existence. The extended family structure began to disintegrate.

Secondly, this later period witnessed the development of a socio-economic status system, consisting of landlords, tenants, sub-tenants (tenants renting from tenants), migratory farm laborers, riverbank squatters, and at the bottom, river people. These basic socio-economic groupings developed into status positions,⁷ with associated prestige attitudes. In the 1930's there was added to these groupings a WPA level, which, from the viewpoint of status, is not a homogeneous class but is distributed within the sub-tenant and farm laborer-riverbank squatter positions, since individuals from these groups combined sharecropping or laboring with a WPA occupation, and since attitudes toward a recent socio-economic segment like WPA have not become fixed.

To summarize, the history of this riverbottom society displays (with necessary abbreviations and simplifications, of course) a gradual change⁸ from a relatively homogeneous, economically unstratified community to a relatively heterogeneous stratified type. We have concentrated upon social structure in our discussion, but values and cultural forms display a similar change.⁹ These alterations can be attributed to economic change and the various cultural and socio-economic processes subsumed in the term "urbanization." We will not make a detailed analysis of the operation of these various influences, since our problem has to do with the results of such processes and not the processes themselves.

THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

Agriculture in the Bottoms provides a sharp contrast to the small-farm-ownership standards of

⁷ But not necessarily in this order. Landlords, while regarded by Bottoms people as "high class," became increasingly less active in social participation as they moved to the various nearby towns.

⁸ Relatively gradual. The early 1900's and the 1920's were periods of accelerated change.

⁹ Vide H. Passin and J. W. Bennett, "Changing Agricultural Magic in Southern Illinois," *Social Forces*, 22: 1 (1943).

the Hills areas to the north. Bottoms farming is carried on for cash; in the Hills, farming is still largely a means for self-subsistence and the good life. Since tenancy with 'cropping' is a precarious existence in which a man can barely make a living, only the more mobile and adventurous persons—often 'black sheep' of Hills' families—will take over a Bottoms farm. Disoriented individuals who have wandered along the river or in the northern cities frequently return and sub-sharecrop a few acres from a tenant. Others go on WPA, or at the moment, into munitions plants. Farm laborers, WPA workers, riverbank squatters, fishermen, and in general, the social dregs of the region, eventually drift into the Bottoms.

These various regional low-status individuals are stratified within Bottoms society in a series of social and economic prestige rankings, which we will call a "status system." There are some four levels; the top, or superordinate status consisting of tenant farmers; below them the sharecroppers and 'croppers who are also on WPA; next a mobile group composed of WPA workers and migratory farm laborers; finally, families who permissively "squat" on tenant property at the riverbank, and fish or combine fishing with a farm-laborer status. Below these four ranks is a fifth pariah group, not dealt with in this paper: the shantyboat fishermen of the river. These latter families frequently tie up to the land for a short period and have few relationships with the land dwellers. They are universally distrusted.

Although this status system is based primarily upon occupation and adjustment to the land, it nevertheless reflects important social and attitudinal differences. Tenant farmers are relatively stable and contented with their lot; they raise large families, with a rudimentary kinship structure linking a few of the families.¹⁰ Riverbank people are locally evaluated as "queer"; they are usually uneducated, unsuccessful and mobile individuals who often display acute attitudes of dependency. They rarely remain in the area more than 7 years. Persons in the intermediate ranks approach the tenant level in various ways, depending upon their

use of the land. Sharecroppers are usually ambitious individuals, striving desperately toward the tenancy level;¹¹ WPA workers generally possess what is locally called a "beaten" attitude toward life, and lack the colorfulness of the riverbank people. People below the sharecropper status aspire to that level, or to a generalized "farmin' life."

Most tenants are natives of the immediate region; non-tenants are more frequently Kentuckians or Illinoisans from other regions.

All these people have relatively fixed economic relationships. Sharecroppers rely upon tenants for the continuation of the 'cropping arrangement for the next year; some sharecroppers also rely upon a riverbank person for partnership in a fishing enterprise. Riverbank people are generally in a symbiotic relationship with one tenant; for the privilege of "squatting" on his land, the riverbank family furnishes farm labor and guard duty against shantyboat thieves. For this they also receive seed for gardens, field corn, and other commodities.

On the tenant-sharecropper level exists a well-defined mutual aid system, characterized by organized patterns of lending and borrowing farm equipment and "swapping" farm labor. Sharecroppers can participate in this only in a limited way, however, since they lack the facilities for inclusion as full partners.

Among the nontenant people of the Bottoms, frequently including sharecroppers, there exists a loosely-organized mutual aid system confined to food exchange and assistance during periods of destitution or illness. Along the riverbank this appears as an informal band organization, consisting of wandering families from one beached shantyboat or shack to the other, sharing meals and occasionally beds. This feature exists even though some individual families become symbiotically attached to tenants.

There is little organized social life between the various tenant families even though they occupy the apex of the status pyramid. There are no communal gatherings; very few parties or dinners—

¹⁰ These kin ties are not based upon intermarriages in the Bottoms, however, but rather upon relationships through the original Hills families. Tenants, although stable in Bottoms standards, are mobile from the standpoint of the other subareas of the region. No tenants represent native Bottoms families. There have been no recent marriages between Bottoms young people.

¹¹ Rural sociologists may find a point of interest here in that the tenancy-sharecropping system is helped to persist through the status aspirations of persons participating in it, even though they may recognize its unfairness and insecurity. This is a natural consequence of insecurity in an individualistic value system—rural or urban.

out; almost no visiting by tenant women. The labor-swapping phase of the mutual aid system serves as a men's social gathering. The area has a school, but no church or store. Bottoms people are dependent on two nearby villages and the larger towns for various services.

In such an economic system, where the majority of the people are exterior to the official land-use pattern and therefore must live marginally, it is apparent that the enforced insecurity and mobility would defeat the growth of organized institutions and social connective tissue of integrated type. Those that exist are little more than protective alliances based on the need for security; they have little personal involvement.

Despite this fragmented social organization there exists a clearly defined sense of solidarity among Bottoms residents, regardless of status. This attitude surrounds certain economic problems, particularly the custom of Hills farmers of allowing their stock to graze in the Bottoms during the winter, thus injuring Bottoms property. This is resented and brought forth as evidence of the "uncivilized" character of Hills people. There are other manifestations of solidarity: pride in the Bottoms school; recognition of the fact that Bottoms people have different personalities than the residents of other areas; a feeling that the Bottoms is a "pioneer" society, where life is hard and people are more independent and sympathetic. This solidarity is particularly interesting since Bottoms residents see one another so seldom and possess so few patterns of interrelationship.

THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE¹²

Residents of the Bottoms conceive of themselves as forming a unit distinct from the other subcultures of the region. They maintain that a Bottoms person is more rugged, forthright, aggressive, more willing to help a neighbor in distress, and above all, more self-reliant. A study of all data related to value contexts discloses a basic dual configuration: *negative*: individualism and competitiveness; *positive*: brotherly love and helpfulness to neighbors. Evidence indicates that these values are basic in the culture and have considerable antiquity.

¹² Most statements in this section will be unsupported by adequate validating data, since our space is limited. All conclusions should be regarded as hypotheses.

Bottoms people most generally express these values in the form of a declaration that Bottoms society is closer to the old "pioneer" way of thinking and doing.¹³ Such values (the "negative" variety in particular), are given emphasis by the characteristic Bottoms personality: mobile, insecure, aggressive, disoriented in contrast with personalities and values of the other regional sub-areas.

To git a farm [tenancy] down here the owner's got to know if you was a good straight honest, upright man and a good worker and a man who knowed how to keep his nose on hisself and his job.

We like each other down here. You never find a Bottoms feller turnin' down a feller who needs somethin'. Them fellers up there [in Hills] ain't that friendly.

Now the negative Bottoms values—individualism and competitiveness—flourish within the tenant-sharecropper-riverbank, et. al. socio-economic system, which as we have indicated, is productive of economic insecurity.

It is conceivable, and no doubt occurs elsewhere, that tenancy-sharecropping could persist without such extreme forms of individualistic striving. In these cases, however, the resulting social structure may be very different from the Bottoms type.

It would seem that we have three factors in interaction: (1) a value system emphasizing individualism and competitiveness; (2) an economic system based upon the elimination of all marginal individuals and the concentration of land into the fewest possible operative hands (tenants); (3) the existence of a marginal population, 'croppers',

¹³ The persistence of this value configuration is in itself a major problem. Must it be considered as a 'survival' of the old American folk culture, or is it a later regrowth of a rationalized value system used to justify economic insecurity? A number of factors seem to be involved: Bottoms people are mobile individuals accustomed to fight their way through the predatory economic system of the outer world. Thus individualism is a normal pattern for them. Secondly, this attitude easily finds confirmation in actual surviving folk values of the total region, in other subareas, and thus can be intensified. Third, the individualistic configuration functions as a rationale for the precarious, insecure socio-economic system. In other words, the onslaught of economic change and alternative urban values is met by a rationalized intensification of certain older folk values and some sort of balance is achieved. A similar process was observed for agricultural magic.

riverbank, and the rest, who are distributed in various marginal occupations, each progressively nearer to a tenant-like adjustment to the land. The interaction of these three factors produces a rank-order status system. Since tenancy is the only relatively secure position and since the value system emphasizes competitiveness, it is to be expected that the nontenant groups aspire to the tenant level. Further, since the tenant position is the culturally-defined goal, the closer one's socio-economic status is to tenancy, the higher one's status position is.

Though fundamentally based upon the desire for land, this status system places individuals and families in well-defined positions, based upon occupation, origin, degree of mobility, and so on. Prestige symbols of various kinds, such as food,¹⁴ houses, and farm machinery, are used to denote the characteristics of each rank. Verbally, status aspiration is most frequently and casually expressed by intense admiration for a "farmin' life." The virtues of such an existence lie in its solitude and privacy as contrasted with the turmoil of the city; in the ability to raise one's own food; in the independence from a wage economy; above all, the ability to buy what one may want at a particular moment.

Status aspiration also appears in the form of subtle disputes and hatreds, which, as a pattern, can be described as aggression and hostility. Such attitudes and behavior are distributed unevenly within the status system, but the variability (barring special circumstances) is usually in proportion to the degree of possible upward movement beyond each rank.

Aggression and hostility are most severe in the sharecropper group, which correlates with the fact that although these people are just one rank below the top, they have little opportunity of rising higher. The scarcity of tenant farms renders the possibility of reaching the tenancy level extremely remote. They are also forced to associate for reasons of economic security with riverbank and WPA people. Sharecroppers are caught between the non-land-renting groups and the tenants, and the economic hiatus between tenancy and nontenancy is wide. They are constantly faced with the strong possibility that they will be driven down into the riverbank-WPA-farm labor

positions, and thus be even farther from the top. In light of the strong individualistic-competitive values, it can be seen that such a position would be unusually frustrating and productive of anxiety and hostility.¹⁵

When we enter the sub-sharecropper ranks, we find aggression and hostility varying in terms of individual personalities in large degree. This is a result of two factors: (1) These people may have diverse origins and consequently different values and attitudes. (2) In most cases their record of downward social mobility (as in the case of WPAers) or prolonged low-status (as in the case of most riverbank squatters) has served to crystallize attitudes of social dependency and turn aggressions into other channels. It is perhaps significant that in these positions one finds the most intense but random gossip and destructive criticism of others, including tenants. Among sharecroppers, hostility not only takes the form of gossip, but also an outright desire for possession of tenant property. A 'cropper may deride the character and honesty of a tenant, but not as mere gossip—rather as a deliberate attempt to discredit the man with his landlord. But this practice is actually very rare. We shall see why shortly.¹⁶

Despite this individual variability, however, as soon as riverbank-WPA people come within sight of a 'cropping arrangement, they manifest hostility similar to the sharecropper variety.¹⁷

¹⁴ Cf. J. Dollard and others, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven, 1938), especially pp. 76-90.

¹⁵ Hostility can also be related to problems of intra-familial relationships. Bottoms children are reared in a notably permissive atmosphere; there is little parental love, families are large and sibling rivalry pronounced. These factors would have their individual reactions dependent upon position in the sibling hierarchy and possible favoritism, but one wonders if the hostility and rivalry so intense among adults might not have partial causal roots in sibling rivalry. Inconsistent nursing and weaning patterns also carry over into lack of schedule, routine, and orderliness in adults, and related to this is the theoretical concept of the importance of weaning habits in conditioning oral hostility. All these factors may be operative, but in no way negate the integration of the hostility pattern with socio-economic patterns; indeed, they are intensified by these patterns and are a part of them.

¹⁷ It should be noted that we do not maintain that all attitudes and behavior of Bottoms people are determined by their participation in the social system. Riverbank people, for example, display a rich fantasy-life, consisting of ghost stories, magic, superstitions,

¹⁴ Cf. J. W. Bennett, "Food and Social Status in a Rural Society," *American Sociological Review*, 8: 5 (1943).

The tenant farmers, as a group (individuals may vary for special reasons) seem to reflect their relative economic security in the low incidence among them of hostility and aggression, and also in the relative absence of fear and anxiety, the other two accompaniments of status aspiration to be discussed later.

Seen from this standpoint, the status system of the Bottoms can be regarded both as the interaction of basic and long-standing individualistic values with an insecure economy, and also as the sociological equivalent of the whole complex of aspiration attitudes, involving aggression and hostility. It is apparent that if aggression were given free reign, the intensity of striving would lead to a disintegration of the society, probably taking the form of increased spatial mobility. People would simply leave the area in a effort to escape from the intolerable frustration.¹⁸ Several families who have been unable to rationalize the whole status-aspiration problem have left for this reason.

Hostility and aggression seem to be *controlled* in the following manner: Individuals in status positions below tenancy display anxiety symptoms developing out of the general fear-situation produced by economic insecurity. These persons are literally afraid to express hostility because of the risk they run of losing what little security they might have accumulated.

In the sharecropper position, fear and anxiety take their most intense form: a desperate attempt to amass a little cash and a food supply for the long winter, when the 'cropper will have no income. This attempt to build a floor beneath insecurity

wishful thinking, etc. Those fantasies revelatory of desire for money, farms, and the like can be related to the socio-psychological categories described above; others cannot. The question should be raised, however, if whether or not attitudes and behavior in a relatively self-contained, interactive, small society like the Bottoms, are not more importantly determined by relationships in the social structure than they are in the individuating urban environment.

¹⁸ Cf. In this connection Howard Becker's principles ("Processes of Secularization and Ideal-Typical Analysis of Personality Change as Affected by Population Movements," *The Sociological Review*, 24: 2, 3, 1932), regarding the inevitability of migration when secularization reaches a point where satisfactory solution of thwarted wishes and blocked actions of individuals does not keep pace with cultural reorganization and rationalization.

and thus assure one's relative social prestige is rationalized by the component values of individualism: industriousness, enterprise, looking-out-for-oneself, and so on. Just as in the case of hostility and status aspiration, the central values are used to reinforce a particular set of attitudes and behaviors.

But the process is not simply one of checking hostility by fear. The result is a new set of attitudes, which rationalize the conflict between frustration-hostility-aggression on one hand and fear of status loss on the other. These attitudes can be called ambivalent, and represent the basic psycho-social processes within the area: the constant attempt to maintain equilibrium between the folk-type values and structures and the alternatives imposed by socio-economic change.¹⁹

Fear and ambivalence operate as a check on hostility in the following manner: Any person below the rank of tenant has no assurance that he can remain in the area in his present occupation, since the economic system makes no allowance for any secure existence save tenancy. Thus a person is both afraid of losing what position and job he may have and of losing prestige and status. He therefore desires to rise to a superior status, to improve his prestige value and also become economically secure. This aspiration produces a tendency to both admire and hate persons in the upper ranks; but since overt expressions of hostility or rivalry toward these superordinate persons would discredit the subordinate individual and thereby cause him to lose favor (he fears loss of opportunity and transfers this fear to superordinates), he tempers his hostility with a more integrative attitude. This attitude is characteristically verbalized by feelings of Bottoms solidarity, described in the section, Contemporary Culture. Here the positive category of basic values—helpfulness and brotherly love—also come into play. The sharecropper,²⁰ although hating and fearing as

¹⁹ Any cultural category can be used to demonstrate this process. Religion, for example, though weak in the Bottoms, nevertheless functions as a rationalization for economic insecurity. The fundamentalist sects to which Bottoms people belong constantly emphasize brotherly love and nonaggression, contentment with one's lot, however poor, and so on. (Cf. Freud's discussions of the relation of religion to the pleasure-principle and control of aggressive behavior.)

²⁰ Because of his intermediate position, the sharecropper shows all these attitudes—fear, hostility, ambivalence, etc.—in much more acute forms; he is the

well as admiring the tenant, will make emphatic declarations of his solidarity with the tenants. The 'cropper experiences conflict over the necessity for blaming someone for his plight and the fact that those he wishes to blame, the tenants, can cause him to lose what little he has.

A similar process can be seen in relation to attitudes toward subordinate persons. The sharecropper must scorn a riverbank person since he fears he might regress toward the rank that person symbolizes. If it is financially necessary for him to establish fishing partnership with a riverbank squatter, he finds great need to display verbally his contempt for such an existence. This contempt really masks hatred for the riverbank person whom the sharecropper feels (through association) is somehow responsible for his degradation. Yet he cannot show this hatred too openly, since it may alienate him from the riverbank group, and for economic reasons he must depend on them. The 'cropper experiences a conflict between his status aspirations and economic needs; he meets this conflict with ambivalence.

A sharecropper declared of his riverbank-squatter partner in fishing:

Yeah, I fish partners with Jimmy, but it's jest to pass the time [he really needed the money]. When Jimmy come along here I told him he'd have to go straight and not do no stealin'. You can't tell nothin' about these river fellas, you know. I guess he's all right as a kid, but you got to be careful. I figger him as a young feller tryin' to make his bread and meat honest, but none of 'em is a high type.

Riverbank people display a similar configuration, only here the variability is greater for reasons already mentioned, and also because of the variant economic positions. Personality content among these people does not always show the typical structurings of the 'croppers and tenants, and we cannot adequately explain their reactions and attitudes entirely in terms of the psychological and social categories of the area.

Riverbank squatters who possess a symbiotic relationship with one tenant, do show ambivalence based upon similar causes, however. They will express guarded but definitely hostile attitudes

epitome of the whole set of interlocking processes. However, all the other ranks show the effects of the system as well. The 'cropper should not be regarded as more typical of the system but rather as its most intense manifestation.

toward all tenants and landlords, since these symbolize the economic system which deprives "poor folks" of land. But at the same time they will show the most extravagant love and admiration for the tenant.

Such ambivalences are interwoven in the fabric of Bottoms society. Although they are more characteristic of the nontenant groups, they also appear on the tenant level, since tenants both dislike and fear the absentee landowner, but cannot show this dislike if they wish to keep a farm. In the case of tenants, however, the ambivalence does not necessarily function as a control of hostility towards other Bottom residents.

The control of status aspiration and its various accompanying attitudes is not entirely a sociopsychological phenomenon, however. Some structural expression of this cooperative, nonaggressive phase is needed.

Bottoms agriculture is large-scale and requires considerable cooperation and assistance, all of which would not be forthcoming if the individualism and general aggressions were not controlled. Thus in addition to the attitudinal checks, a "positive" structural factor has developed: *mutual aid*. This system consists of patterns of labor and farm equipment exchange on the tenant level, and a food-exchange and mutual-assistance pattern on the riverbank and in general, the nontenant level. Significantly, the brotherly love "positive" values of Bottoms culture are always prominently brought into view during discussions of either form of mutual aid. Bottoms residents significantly show anxiety if mutual aid is interpreted in purely rational, economic terms; they keenly desire to convey the impression that it is simply good neighborliness.

In the past, mutual aid seems to have been taken for granted as a normal, accepted pattern of interconnection; as an automatic obligation. At the present, mutual aid is clearly an economic necessity (because of nontenant poverty and tenant labor shortages) and is also "conscious" in that Bottoms people single it out as typifying their culture, and as preserving the "pioneer" element. Evidence indicates that mutual aid in the Bottoms actually died out after 1900 and then developed again in the 1920's as economic insecurity increased. Thus it appears that the contemporary mutual aid is in no way (save in the minds of the people) a "survival" of the older culture. Moreover, it is not a universal trait,

but is specialized and varies in accordance with the status system.

From this extremely abbreviated outline of the dynamic aspects of Bottoms society and culture, we will pass to a consideration of the problem.

CONCLUSIONS

To restate our hypothesis: If economic insecurity, brought about through socio-economic differentiation, occurs in a culture possessing values of an integrated, equalitarian society, can we expect evidence of conflict and frustration in individuals? And secondly, how are these conflicts resolved or rationalized?

The answer to the first question is affirmative: We have found conflicts in individuals developing as a result of their aspirations for economic and social attainments, which they have been led to expect by means of the persistence of an individualistic value system related to the old folk-sacred culture. But two important qualifications must be made:

(1) In no important way can these values be considered as archaisms or survivals in the modern culture. They are functionally related to the contemporary social system, since it seems to be the very interaction of these values with the factors of economic insecurity and excess population which produces the ranked status system of the present period. Secondly, although the value-configuration in its formal aspect can be traced backward in time to the early homogeneous culture, its dynamic aspect at the present is quite different: The individualistic-competitive element is emphasized over and above the brotherly love element and the role of each is no longer an organic part of a total culture, but is largely confined to a special aspect of the culture and society—the status system. The old-time value-configuration with certain modifications and reemphases is utilized in a special way by the contemporary culture, much as certain formal elements of traditional agricultural magic are used for purposes related to the changed conditions of belief, which are totally different than the function of these elements in the older culture.²¹

(2) It would be misleading to assert that conflict and frustration in individuals develop as a result of "disharmony" between the "ideal" value system and a "real" socio-economic system, because as we

have shown, the interaction of values and socio-cultural forms is deep and complex. The conflict in individuals should be regarded as an expectable consequence of a total interactive social process, a process which includes mechanisms for control of the results of conflict as well as the conflict pattern itself. Contradictions are an essential feature of this process; they do not necessarily imply "social disorganization."

The answer to our second question (the forces of control) involves the central theoretical conclusion of this paper: the way in which this society can be regarded as "transitional." To recapitulate:

In the Bottoms sub-area of the total region, the impact of commercialized agriculture and urban materialism was most significant in the economic sphere, since the rich bottomland made inevitable a large-scale, commercialized agricultural and stock-raising economy. Given American economic practices, and the fact that the Bottoms was the only really fertile soil in the region, it was inevitable that it should fall into the hands of landlords. This change was productive of an insecure economy which tends to eliminate individual enterprise and to reduce the population to a minimum level. The result of this situation, interacting with individualistic values, has been high mobility and intense striving for possession of a tenant farm. We have suggested how this results in frustration, conflict, aggression, and also the control of such disintegrating forces by ambivalence and institutional developments like mutual aid. These various tendencies are expressed more or less systematically in terms of a ranked status system, based on socio-economic differentiation.

In other words, it is possible to regard the status system of the Bottoms both as the result of the historic social and cultural change from sacred to secular and also as a transitional structure which has arisen to permit the society to place the old and the new, the sacred and the secular, in some form of equilibrium. This is not a simple picture of "tradition" resisting change, but rather a re-adaptation of *sacred-type* elements, old or recent, to a modified socio-cultural environment. Mutual aid, for example, tends to counteract the differentiating and heterogenizing tendencies of the economic system whether or not it is to be viewed as a genuine "folk" element, or a rationalized regrowth. In either case, it meets the same need: the control of further secularization and preserva-

²¹ Cf. Passin and Bennett, *op. cit.*, *Social Forces*, pp. 104-105.

tion of a semblance of "folkness." The intense interest in "pioneer" values serves to preserve some degree of sacred-type homogeneity, although such values are not necessarily representative or continuations of a genuine early cultural environment.

To generalize: The Bottoms typifies those cases of sacred societies in the rural American pattern which have experienced profound modifications in the structure of land distribution. Whenever land becomes an extraordinary valuable commodity and where the population is constantly greater than that which the supply of land can provide with the established form of exploitation, it is highly probable that status systems will develop which evaluate persons and families according to their proximity to the established form of exploitation. Such status systems will be given distinctive coloring by the local cultural background.

The Bottoms has to a large extent met the secularizing influences with flexibility, and barring further drastic and sudden economic changes imposed from the "outside" will in all probability continue to change with them. By the term *equilibrium* we mean to express this ability of the culture to rationalize the sacred and the secular. Such equilibrium appears in the value area, in religion, in agricultural magic. In individual psychology, it seems to appear in the form of mechanisms to resolve conflict and check hostility. If these conflicts engendered by the changing socio-economic structure were not in some way resolved or controlled, the society would fall to pieces, and the large farms would be operated by professional supervisors brought in from the outside. This has happened elsewhere, but it has not occurred in the Bottoms because the culture has worked out a way to accommodate the "secular" and at the same time protect (to a certain extent) the "sacred." In the type-case of the Bottoms, therefore, *transitional* means *equilibrium*.

The combination of developed spatial mobility families moving in and out of the area frequently with a sense of cultural solidarity is another expression of this transitional-equipoised type. Although the Bottoms has been mutilated and differentiated through enforced socio-economic change, it has assimilated such influences in part

by developing an *esprit de corps*, a feeling of unity and of pride in the few institutional features still remaining, and particularly in the "pioneer" values and virtues. Such solidarity is strengthened by the existence of a set of well-defined social values—the status system—which furnishes a ready-made frame of reference by which to place a Bottoms individual in terms of his participation in the socio-economic system. In turn, the status system, as a differentiating tendency, is prevented from pursuing its logical course of accelerating fragmentation by solidarity, which gives the group as a whole a certain amount of unity. The process, in other words, is not causal in a linear sense, but circular—a matter of give and take—in which values, attitudes, and social structures tend to control and/or reinforce one another to produce an equipoised situation.²²

Because such equilibrium exists, however, does not mean that Bottoms culture is "well-adjusted," in a normative sense. On the contrary, the socio-economy is precarious and insecure, as are most rural societies based on absentee land-ownership with a tenancy system. The point is that in order to survive at all, the culture has been forced to erect checks and balances permitting it to rest somewhat uneasily between survival and disintegration. How such processes operate in other rural societies can only be determined by careful comparative studies.

²² Transition is not necessarily a matter of a "homogeneous" structure becoming "heterogeneous." Examples of the opposite tendency can be found, although rare. E. H. Bell's study of Sublette, Kansas (Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Rural Life Studies*, No. 2, 1942), suggests that communities which begin life as heterogeneous groups of unrelated families, all trying to accumulate cash from a profitable single crop, can, despite this extremely secular, pecuniary-minded origin, develop solidarity and social interconnections tending in the folk-sacred direction.

In our view of culture change, two broad processes seem to be operative: (a) The general historical change from folk-type to urban-type. (b) The appearance in all societies, of folk-type or urban-type tendencies or forms (whether they are actual historic survivals or not), at any point in the history of these societies when certain problems of change demand accommodation in one direction or the other.

NATIVE FARM LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA*

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THERE are certain parallels between conditions in the South in the United States after the Civil War and those in modern South Africa. An old way of life for both blacks and whites has disappeared; former personal relationships between master and servant are disintegrating; agriculture is no longer prosperous as in former times, and each element of the population angrily accuses the other; the blacks, though legally free, are ignorant. In one vital respect, however, the parallel does not hold: in most parts of the South there were more whites than Negroes, whereas in South Africa the Natives outnumber the whites 3½ to 1.

Whatever one's degree of ignorance about South Africa, he generally knows that its white inhabitants, at least before 1900, were mostly Boers; and since Boer means farmer, it is logical to suppose that the country is prevaillingly agricultural. Since the days of the old Boer republics, however, cities have sprung up all over the Union, particularly on the goldmining reef of the Transvaal, and these cities have been transforming rural South Africa into urban South Africa. Two-thirds of the whites now live in towns. The much more numerous Natives,¹ although for centuries a pastoral people, are likewise moving in increasing numbers to the cities, where they either work for a short while and then return to their tribal reserves, or else remain permanently, urbanized and detribalized. The census figures show the trends (Table 1).

Mere figures are misleading. Since South Africa's area of 472,550 square miles is greater than that of the United States east of the Alleghenies, with Alabama added, this might be thought sufficient to maintain the rural population in some affluence. Of her total area, however, only 6 per

cent is at present cultivated, and, even if the cattle industry were eliminated, only 9 per cent more land would be available for agriculture. Erosion and poor farming methods have gradually ruined what was at best only fair grazing land. So long as the few Boers could spread out over the vast veld and rest contented with a fairly primitive pastoral existence, their limited standard of living could be satisfied by what nature offered. Now, however, the population has increased, wants have multiplied, and the soil is depleted: what seemed like a Golden Age has gone forever.

TABLE 1

CENSUS FIGURES SHOWING INCREASING URBANIZATION OF WHITES AND NATIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

| CENSUS | URBAN | PER CENT | RURAL | PER CENT | TOTAL IN UNION |
|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| Whites | | | | | |
| 1911 | 658,286 | 51.7 | 617,956 | 48.3 | 1,276,242 |
| 1921 | 847,508 | 55.8 | 671,980 | 44.2 | 1,519,488 |
| 1936 | 1,307,386 | 65.2 | 696,471 | 34.8 | 2,003,857 |
| Natives | | | | | |
| 1911 | 508,142 | 12.6 | 3,510,864 | 87.4 | 4,019,006 |
| 1921 | 587,001 | 12.5 | 4,110,813 | 87.5 | 4,697,813 |
| 1936 | 1,141,642 | 17.3 | 5,455,047 | 82.7 | 6,596,689 |

South African agriculture is in a bad way and the farmers know it. Many, looking back with longing to the good old days before the English came to increase the population and meddle with wise laws, blame the British element for the present doldrums. Practically all farmers, Afrikaners or English, are dissatisfied with Native farm labor on one score or another: Natives have grown increasingly shiftless, they do not fulfill their contracts, they drift to the cities, they can no longer make their children work, they are spoiled by an indulgent Government, their wages are too high.

Since the formation of the Union in 1910, farmers have always exerted pressure on parliament out of all proportion to their numbers and their economic contribution to national wealth. If beneficial legislation could solve the farmer's

* Data for this study were gathered while the author was with the U. S. Lend Lease Administration in South Africa.

¹ The legal and customary term for aboriginal blacks in South Africa is Native, with Bantu as an alternative. Whites are called Europeans. The other elements of the population, not considered in this paper, are Coloureds (descendants of former mixed unions), of whom there were 769,661 in 1936, and Asiatics (Indians, Malay, and Chinese), of whom there were 219,691.

problems, the modern South African farmer should be in clover; yet his plight is serious, and, as soon as the war is over, it will probably grow worse. Subsidies have been voted with regularity, not in order to lessen food prices and so relieve the malnutrition which weakens most of the Natives and 40 per cent of the whites, but to make exports profitable and local prices higher. Under pressure, the Government has taxed the rest of the people in order to assist producers of wheat, maize, fruit, sugar, dairy products, and even cotton and tobacco, although economists have warned that people should be encouraged to move away from farming rather than to persist in uneconomic farming. Methods remain backward, land is poor, costs are high. On 15 per cent of the land two-thirds of the population produces only one-eighth of the nation's wealth.

Complicated problems are generally beyond the grasp of the average farmer. From his short-range point of view the essential trouble with agriculture is the Native. Despite the fact that the census of 1936 showed 2,053,440 of the 5,455,047 rural Natives as resident on farms owned by white men, the farmer complained that there was a shortage of Native labor, and a Government commission agreed. Since that census was taken, the farm labor problem has increased, due to the phenomenal development of gold mining and industry.

Two laws, dating from the early years of the Union, are aimed primarily at providing an adequate labor supply for the whites, farmers as well as others. In 1913 Pass Laws were enacted for the Transvaal and Orange Free State, forbidding Natives (among other restrictions) to leave their employment and residence, and to move freely about the Union, without a pass issued by the employer, testifying that the individual had fulfilled his contract. If this was designed to hold laborers to their job, the second law was intended to force Natives to seek employment outside their tribal reservations. It was a tax bill applying only to Natives, and to no other element of the population. Every male Native over 18 years of age must pay a poll tax of £1 a year, and each head of a family an additional hut tax of ten shillings. These sums being manifestly more than could possibly be earned in the primitive and quasi-communal Native areas, most adult males would be compelled to leave their homes for at least a part of every year to work for white men.

Although the element of compulsion is present, tradition and familiarity with farming and cattle-raising play their part in keeping Natives in the employ of white landowners. It is clear that, with a third of the Native population living on white men's farms, something is amiss when employers complain of a labor shortage. Certain defects will be apparent from an examination of the daily life of Native farm laborers.

LABOR SYSTEMS

In the days before the English *uitlanders* interfered with the patriarchal system of the Boers, slavery was general. For almost two centuries the Boers used Hottentot slaves, and they were beginning to take Bantu slaves when in 1834 the British intervened and abolished the institution of slavery. After the Great Trek to the northern veld, with the achievement of independence, the Boers did not reintroduce actual slavery, but rather a series of makeshifts: the hiring of Native "orphans," arrangements with Native chieftains to deliver a stated number of workers each season, taxation which must be paid by service rather than cash (this last the forerunner of the present poll tax).

After the Boer War (1899-1902) squatting and a form of share-cropping gradually developed into the "labour tenant" system, under which a Native was allowed to reside on a farm with his family, to cultivate a certain area of land, and to graze a specified number of cattle, on condition that he and such members of his family as were stated in the agreement should render service to the farmer for a specified period. This system, which still prevails in Natal and the Transvaal and in modified form in the Free State and the Cape, worked well enough in the days when land was plentiful. The Native kept a close connection with the soil, and he enjoyed the right to keep cattle, to which he is greatly attached; the white farmer liked it because he could pay wages in kind. Now that the poll tax requires cash from the Native, the farmer has to pay a portion of the wages in money, and generally the laborer who does not earn enough on the farm is allowed to proceed to urban areas to work during the slack season.

In recent years both farmer and Native have begun to complain of the system, which is full of implications for the political and economic life of the country. The Natives are deserting farmers in increasing numbers for the pleasanter and more

lucrative work in cities, thus augmenting the problems of municipal authorities; the farmers, mainly Afrikaners (Boers), blame the mine-owners, mainly of English descent, for luring away their workers, and so the antagonism of the two white groups is fanned; pressure is exerted on the government to use force to make the Native remain on the farms; labor costs in agriculture are being met by increasing subsidies, provided by taxes on the gold mines and higher prices on food.

In the paragraphs which follow, there is no intention to blame the farmer for the conditions of his laborers. He merely follows use and wont in what he does. He is caught in the whirl of economic developments beyond his powers of comprehension, and is a prey to price shifts, nationalist propaganda, desire for a better life, longing for a return to the familiar ways of his parents. In all these conflicting circumstances he is no wiser and no more foolish, and certainly no more vindictive, than farmers in many other countries.

TASKS PERFORMED

The Native is never a skilled workman. Laws sponsored by white trade unions prohibit his acquiring skills in urban trades, and tradition is against it on the farms. Male employees are expected to be able to do any farm job—milking, ploughing, separating, gardening. If a farmer refers to a worker as a good ploughman or milker, he refers to an aptitude learned by experience, not by training. The farmer's own knowledge (all the more important since agriculture has become a mechanized business) of crops, soils, times of ploughing and reaping is regarded as sufficient, and the worker is supposed merely to obey orders. Thus there is small opportunity, as there is small incentive, for the Native to acquire that knowledge of farming which would make him a more valuable, intelligent laborer. There is not even the payment of a differential wage for greater efficiency.

While all males in every family on a farm are employed by the owner (unless special leave of absence is granted), generally only one or two women are required for domestic service in the farmer's household. Those not so engaged work on their own fields and look after their own families, and are called out periodically for weeding and reaping, when they are paid at piece rates or by the day. Children of eight or over are generally employed as shepherds or cowherds, for leading

oxen at the plough, and for lighter seasonal labor. The agreement made between a farmer and a Native includes the members of the latter's family, the father being held responsible for the behavior of his children.

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

The rule on farms throughout the world prevails: one works from sunrise to sunset, with breaks for meals and periods of rest. Allowing for seasonal variations, slack periods, and local circumstances, the farm laborer in South Africa probably averages eight or nine hours a day. Natives work slowly, however, particularly if not under constant supervision, so that farmers are probably justified in saying that eight or nine hours on duty means about six hours of effective work. There are no statutory holidays with pay for farm laborers. Since the farmer himself does not work on Sunday, the general rule is six days a week, with milking on the seventh day taken in turns. The Natives are very jealous of their customary right to Sundays off, and few employers risk breaking the rule. Whether Saturday afternoons or occasional holidays are granted depends entirely upon local custom and upon the character or mood of the employer. Absence from work on a genuine excuse of ill-health is not counted against the worker.

Practice varies widely in the Union as to the granting of leave. On many farms in the North the agreement is for only three or six months, or for the farmer's busy crop season. In such cases the family may move back to the tribal reserve for the rest of year or seek work in the mines. In the Cape and the Free State the agreement usually runs for the full year, with an occasional week or fortnight allowed. Employers living near a city have to be more generous than others in the holidays granted, or else they would lose their workers.

WAGES

On the subject of wages it is impossible to speak with any accuracy. Practice varies widely, and there is no proper means of translating wages paid in kind into a cash equivalent. Not even in a single district is there a standard wage. To compare the cash wages of £5 a year paid in parts of the Free State with the £27 paid in the southwestern Cape is completely to distort the picture, for the former is supplementary to most of the material requisites of life in a region where the

standard of living is low, while the latter is given because no grazing and garden privileges for the laborer are allowed. Cash remains cash, nevertheless, for purposes of taxation and of the purchase of store goods. If a man receives only £5 a year, he must work almost three months simply to earn enough for his poll tax; and in some districts the cash wage amounts to only twopence a day.

The farmer, in reckoning wages paid, always includes wages in kind and the privileges allowed his workers. Here, too, there is much variation, particularly in the practice of the northern provinces as contrasted with that of the Cape. In the latter it is usual to pay higher cash wages and give more food, while in the other provinces the farmer

The wide variations in wages can be seen from random samples drawn from the Official Year Book of the Union for 1941. The wages cited are for regular farm laborers, not for those hired seasonally (Table 2).

Laborers who are hired seasonally receive cash wages about 50 per cent higher than those of regular laborers, but have no land or grazing privileges.

Natives resident on farms are, therefore, poor, although it may be questioned whether they are in a worse position than those urbanized Natives who work as unskilled laborers for wages that are depressed, not only as a result of discrimination enforced by white trade unions, but also as a

TABLE 2
RANDOM SAMPLES SHOWING WIDE VARIATIONS IN WAGES IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1941

| REGION | CROP | CASH | RATIONS | GRAZING LAND | TOTAL |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------|
| Malmesbury (S. W. Cape)..... | Wheat | £16.9 | £26.0 | £ 0.0 | £42.9 |
| Caledon River (S. W. Cape)..... | Wheat | 9.7 | 4.6 | 10.4 | 24.7 |
| Western Transvaal..... | Irrigation | 5.9 | 4.4 | 3.5 | 13.8 |
| N. E. Orange Free State..... | Mixed | 5.0 | 5.3 | 5.7 | 16.0 |
| Western Transvaal..... | Maize | 12.4 | 12.3 | 9.2 | 33.9 |
| Rustenburg (W. Tvl.)..... | Citrus | 15.8 | 4.3 | 8.4 | 28.5 |
| Groot Marico (W. Tvl.)..... | Citrus | 13.2 | 6.0 | 0.0 | 19.2 |
| Fish River (S. E. Cape)..... | Citrus | 8.4 | 4.8 | 0.0 | 13.2 |
| Witwatersrand (Tvl.)..... | Dairying | 11.5 | 3.0 | 12.3 | 26.8 |
| Natal..... | Dairying | 12.8 | 3.5 | 5.8 | 22.1 |
| E. Griqualand (S. E. Cape)..... | Dairying | 9.3 | 4.6 | 3.2 | 17.1 |
| Rustenburg (W. Tvl.)..... | Tobacco | 16.5 | 6.6 | 2.2 | 25.3 |
| Brits (Central Tvl.)..... | Tobacco & Wheat | 16.7 | 8.3 | 5.1 | 30.1 |

Source: *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, 1941.

makes amends for the low cash wages by liberal wages in kind. Thus it is not unusual in the Transvaal and Free State for a Native family to be allowed four or five acres on which to raise corn; the right to graze half a dozen "cattle," which may be cows, sheep, or goats; half a bag of mealie (corn) meal a month, and sometimes rations of skimmed milk, salt, and the meat of animals which die a natural death; housing in a hut built by the Native himself from stones, clay, and grass available on the farm; fuel and water; and occasional gifts of tobacco, soap, and old clothes. Even a computation of the value of these privileges is not easy. It has been estimated that although they may be worth as much as £9 a year to the Native, they do not cost the farmer £5.

result of competition from Native temporary workers from rural areas. The privileges of free housing, food, water, and milk which the farm laborers enjoy, but for which the urban resident has to pay, must also be taken into consideration in comparing the cash wage of the former with the £4 or £4.10 monthly of the urban laborer.²

EXPENDITURES

Few studies have been made of the manner in which the farm tenant spends his income. The best statement is that of a paragraph in a report

² The mine-worker and house servant are relatively well cared for, since they generally receive housing and food with their wages.

on "Farm Labour in the Orange Free State," (1939) issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations:

Farm labourers spend their cash income approximately as follows: Poll tax accounts for about 18% of the cash income. The balance is spent on blankets, dress lengths, salt, flour, sugar, coffee, clothes, candles and matches, furniture, household utensils, sprouted corn for beer, meat, medicines, patent medicines, church and schooling. The expenditure, by cash or by barter, is not more than about £2 per head of Native population per year. This money is spent mostly at the small shops on the outskirts of towns, and the labourer receives poor value for his money, since he buys in small quantities and is in a poor bargaining position. Credit is seldom given and where it is, the price is considerably higher than for a cash sale. When a more expensive article such as a bicycle is bought, a loan is generally obtained from the employer.

HOUSING

It is hardly to be expected that huts built of mud brick and covered with pieces of corrugated iron or thatch would be clean. Because of his insufficient clothing and bed covering, and the almost prohibitive cost of glass for windows, the Native does without much ventilation. Yet few huts are proof against bad weather. What furniture there is generally consists of boxes, with a crude assortment of cans and crockery as household utensils. Despite the efforts of many housewives to keep their huts clean and neat, the poverty and ignorance of the people generally prevent the achievement of hygienic conditions.

Overcrowding is often worse than in many urban locations, not in the proximity of hut to hut, but within the home. The average space per individual throughout the northern provinces is probably between ten and twelve square feet, and not much more in the Cape. Since the hut regularly consists of only one room, men and women, adolescent boys and girls, children and babies, must share the same room. There is almost never any provision for fumigating or de-verminizing the huts, so that one must regard as fortunate the natural deterioration of mud bricks which forces the periodic abandonment of one hut and the construction of a new one.

DIET AND HEALTH

It is an almost universal complaint of the white farmer that his laborers are lazy. Recent dis-

coveries of the close interconnection between diet and energy have not become known to the South African farmer, who sees in the slow-moving, casual ways of his apparently robust employees only an innate aversion to work.

The staple diet of the average rural Native, whether living in the Reserves or working on farms, is mealie meal. For months on end nothing is added to this steady fare of cornmeal, and the mines, requiring a physical examination before engaging a worker, have sometimes to turn down as many as a quarter of the applicants because of malnutrition and general debility. On the farms, skimmed milk is often added to the rations of meal, and pumpkins and beans frequently in season. Meat, coffee, tea, sugar, and bread are rare, while butter and other dairy products are almost wholly absent. Small amounts of fruits are sometimes available. Those protective foods which might counteract the almost exclusively starchy diet are so rarely eaten that the vitality of the Native is being steadily sapped. Any talk of a scientific diet encounters not only the fact of the cost involved, but the contention of the farmer that the Native is accustomed to mealie meal and thrives on it. It is, indeed, dubious whether the Native would welcome any radical change in his accustomed diet.

It is significant, however, that the crime with which the rural laborer is most frequently charged is the theft of stock. The farmers have long since secured a definition of "stock" which includes cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens and other fowls. Since the Native will almost never consent to the slaughter of his own few cattle, requiring them for the customary tribal marriage settlement and for religious purposes, and since farmers generally allow their laborers to eat stock found dead, it often happens that animals in good health mysteriously die. However much the Native might resist efforts to balance his diet scientifically, it is plain that he welcomes meat as an addition to his rations.

The combination of undernourishment or malnourishment, poor living quarters, insufficient clothing, and lack of medical attention means that the standard of health of the farm laborer and his family is low. Diseases of poverty, intestinal worm diseases, and pulmonary disturbances are common and seem to be on the increase in all sections of the country. Almost never can a Native farm worker afford a doctor even if one is available in the district.

RECREATION

The two chief, and often only, diversions of the farm Natives are beer parties and attendance at church. From time immemorial the Bantu has made and drunk a weak beer (about 2 per cent alcohol) which has come to be known as Kaffir beer. Since the employer has the right to say whether his tenants shall be permitted to make beer on the premises, many have denied this privilege, both on moral and on economic grounds. The results of such prohibition have been generally harmful to both farmer and employee. Natives shun those farms where beer-brewing is prohibited; they congregate on Saturday nights and Sundays at the farms of complaisant employers, who dare not interfere with the festivities for fear of alienating their own tenants; because beer-brewing is a lengthy and fragrant process, many families surreptitiously improvise drinks less tell-tale in their odor and more immediately potent in their effect. Farmers are therefore often correct in their complaint that Monday's work is inefficient because of the after-effects of a weekend carousal. Experts testify that the mild Kaffir beer makes a valuable addition to the diet of the Native, and it is their reasoned opinion that there would be less drunkenness, greater steadiness of labor, and more contentedness among workers if every farmer would permit limited brewing on his place.

As more than half the Natives of South Africa retain their tribal religions, it is probable that large numbers of farm employees have no connection with Christian churches, particularly in those numerous districts in which no Native church building is available. Wherever there is such a building, it is sure to become a centre for Sunday gatherings which are as much social as devotional in nature. As in America, there are dozens of small, ephemeral, yet momentarily lusty Protestant sects, many bearing fantastic names and most of them dominated by one personality. The white farmers are prevaillingly members of the Dutch Reformed Church, but its reiterated principle of "no equality between black and white either in church or state" does not draw Native adherents; there are only 150,000 Native members of this denomination out of 3,250,000 professing Native Christians. Of the regular denominations the Methodists and Anglicans do the most consistent and democratic work in rural areas.

There is practically no organized sport for farm workers. Native initiation ceremonies and dances,

where the farmer permits them (and there are those who exact a fee for the permission), afford some outlet for high spirits and the need for diversion.

The Institute of Race Relations estimates that not more than 1 per cent of the Native inhabitants of white farms are literate. Although its figures were drawn from a study of the Orange Free State, there is no reason to suppose that literacy is any greater in other parts of the Union. It would be too much to expect farmers, who themselves do not regard education as essential, to provide it for their Native workers. Some indeed think that education would merely increase inefficiency. In recent years, however, some of the more enlightened employers have become aware of the advantages of having schools as an inducement to permanency of residence. In these cases they build the schoolroom and the provincial Education Department provides the teacher.

MOBILITY OF LABOR

Because the Native is illiterate, his agreement with his employer is generally verbal. This contract includes the obligation of a man's wife and children to work on the farm, so that if one of the sons of the family runs off to the city, the father is considered to have broken the agreement and may lose his crop as a result. Since the contract is verbal and the white man's word is generally taken in preference to a Native's, it is difficult for an employee to defend himself in court or to prove breach of contract on the part of the farmer. In earlier generations, laborers remained almost permanently on a single farm, the children eventually taking the fathers' place; nowadays the higher wages offered by the gold mines, together with the general lure of city life, are creating for the farmer a maddening situation in which the only solution he can imagine is appeal to the government for more stringent laws. The influences which work to keep laborers on the farms are pass laws, indebtedness to the farmer, and the stake the Native has in his crop and cattle. Without any doubt, however, the permanency of residence common in the old days of quasi-serfdom is gradually passing.

TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE

Simon Legree has his South African counterpart, if rumor can be credited. It is true that many farmers openly state their opinion that a Native is more likely to be efficient and respectful if oc-

casionaly thrashed than if treated as an intelligent adult. General testimony, however, is to the effect that the average farmer is not unduly harsh, but rather peremptory after the fashion of master to complete inferior. In former years it was the custom for the master to call the servant in for family prayers, and for the mistress to take an interest in the health and festivities of the employees. This personal relationship is rapidly disappearing. Increasing mechanization and the reports called for by the government are making a business of farming; leisure is giving way to speed; the laborer, now that he has alternative employment in towns, feels less bound to the farm as his home. Moreover, the strong family ties characteristic of Bantu tribal life are being weakened, and with them the old stability of life.

If there is less physical punishment of the worker than formerly, there is also less paternalism. The Native has gained a new measure of independence, for word passes rapidly about the fairness, kindness, and generosity of an employer, and the farmer who receives a bad reputation will be boycotted. The price paid for his independence is a measure of security.

SHORTAGE OF FARM LABOR

The Minister of Native Affairs in 1937 appointed a committee to investigate the complaints of the farmers about the supposed shortage of labor. The Committee found that there was indeed a shortage, and after hearing testimony from farmers, laborers, officials, Native chiefs, scientific investigators, and numerous others, drew its conclusions as to the causes of the shortage. The list constitutes a general summary of the present condition of farm labourers in South Africa: an increasing disinclination of the Natives for farm work; the attractiveness of urban labor with its higher cash wages, entertainments, sports, regular working hours, educational facilities, better food; the uneconomical distribution of labor as a result of the operation of the labor-tenant system; the custom in the Northern provinces of employing males rather than females in domestic service, thus luring men to the cities; economic inability of the farmers to compete with cash wages paid by industry, commerce, domestic service, government organizations, railways; insufficiency of farm wages to meet tax requirements and domestic needs; lack of appreciation by Natives of the value of payments in kind; absence of any uniformity in the payment

of wages, whether in cash or kind; lack of sympathetic practical interest taken by some farmers and farm organizations in the well-being of servants and their dependents, engendering strained relations between employers and employed; the cumulative effect on the Native mind of unredressed grievances; indifferent housing, and poor, insufficient, or inappropriate food provided on many farms; the loss of former parental control over children.

To an outsider, it is not the scarcity of farm labor which is the real problem of South African agriculture, but its inefficiency. This, in turn, is due partly to low wages, poor health, improper diet, lack of education, absence of incentive, and partly to matters which lie below the surface of a situation in which three-quarters of the population may not become citizens. Whereas the Native was formerly regarded as a kind of superior beast of burden and was treated as such, he is now regarded as a human being of a lesser order—a development which does not necessarily connote an improved status. It is simple enough to say that South Africa has twice too many farms and four times too many farmers for sound agriculture; the days are gone when a government can witness unmoved the implacable operation of economic forces which affect two-thirds of the population.

The agricultural problem is but a part of South Africa's basic problem, that of a comparatively poor country (in everything but metals and minerals) whose resources cannot be effectively improved because of a poor and benighted population. If South Africa is to flourish economically, she must do so not by competition for world markets (her present aim), but by developing an effective domestic market, by converting her seven million Natives into consumers. The first steps to be taken in improving the agricultural situation, therefore, seem to be:

1. Higher cash wages, with a minimum fixed by law. Increased wages would not only enable farmers to compete with other employers, but might be the first step toward instilling in the Native the desire for a higher standard of living.
2. Improved housing. Education on the subject would help, and the State might profitably make loans for rural regions, as it now does for urban housing projects.
3. Improved diet. Continued propaganda, directed toward both white and Native, is absolutely necessary. More important, the subsidies now

granted to encourage exports of food should be given only to increase local consumption.

4. Written contracts, with government labor advisers in each district to hear complaints of both farmers and workers.

5. Increased educational facilities. This may well be the basic reform.

6. Recreational facilities, whether connected with church or school, with the drinking of Kaffir beer permitted.

7. Improved health facilities (doctors, clinics, hospitals) for both white and Native.

Admitting that these steps would introduce a dynamic element into the agricultural situation where the farmer prefers a stabilizing effect, the movement would seem at least to be a progressive one for South Africa as a whole. There is movement enough under present circumstances, but its tendency is to imperil not only farming but the

whole economy of the country. The "Native problem" is no simple matter of racial discrimination; it is part and parcel of every phase of life in the Union. The Native can hardly be aided in any way without benefiting the white; conversely, if matters are allowed to drift, both elements of the population suffer.³

³ *Bibliographical note.* Aside from daily newspapers and personal observation, the material in this article has been drawn largely from the following: *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1941* (Pretoria, 1941), chapters 4-6, 8, 11; *Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee, 1937-39* (Pretoria, 1939); South African Institute of Race Relations, "Farm Labour in the Orange Free State," pamphlet (Johannesburg, 1939); J. D. Rheinallt Jones and R. F. Alfred Hoernle, *The Union's Burden of Poverty* (Johannesburg, 1942); John Burger (pseud.), *The Black Man's Burden* (London, 1942); and *Report of the Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932* (Pretoria, 1932).

SELECTIVE DISPERSION AS A FACTOR IN THE SOLUTION OF THE NISEI PROBLEM

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THE impact of American culture and institutions upon second generation children of immigrant stock has long been the object of careful research by social scientists. Yet perhaps no group offers a more fruitful area for study than the Nisei or second generation Americans of Japanese ancestry.

The most unusual characteristic of the Japanese population in the United States is the sharp dichotomy of the Issei (foreign born) and the Nisei (native born). While other immigrant groups show wide age distribution in both the first and second generations, the Japanese population pyramids indicate very little overlapping between the two groups. In 1920, 73.3 percent of the Japanese in the United States were foreign-born, twenty years later 62.7 percent were native-born and only 37.3 were foreign-born. In the twenty year period between 1920 and 1940 the number of Nisei increased from 29,672 to 79,642, and the number of Issei decreased from 81,338 to 47,305.

This unusual condition was due to three historic facts. First, there was no substantial immigration

of Japanese until the decade before 1900. Second, the early migrants were largely single male workers. Third, further immigration was barred after 1924.

Aware of the fact that the first generation was passing off the scene, the Japanese community began to think in terms of leadership of the Nisei generation. Thus the college trained group came to play an increasingly important role in the lives of the Japanese in the United States. The purpose of this study has been an attempt to show the changing role of the college Nisei during the crisis period from the time of the Japanese aggression on Manchuria in 1931 until 1944.

In broad outlines the picture is one of change from a highly concentrated college group, 92 percent of which were attending institutions located in Pacific Coast States, to a widely dispersed group registered in some 539 different colleges or universities in every state of the union except South Carolina and California. Before the evacuation and the consequent dispersion, the college Nisei represented the most highly assimilated element

within the Japanese group. In language, religion, recreation, social organization, athletics, academic life, and ideology as well as in material culture, the second generation was American. This acculturation of the second generation Japanese has led many careful observers both Nisei and Caucasian, to stress their high degree of assimilation, George Taylor writes:

A very effective job of Americanization has been done on the Nisei—one wishes sometimes that it were not so complete. As a group they think like the middle class, they aspire to a mastery of business, jazz,

sports, amusements, schools, and churches which are in our communities and which affect our lives directly. Some of us are Yankee fans; some of us are Dodger fans; some of us like to sip beer; some of us like to go to the Top of the Mark (Mark Hopkins Hotel) once in a while; we enjoy Jack Benny; we listen to Beethoven; some of us even go through the Congressional Records.²

Carey McWilliams, one of the outstanding students on the Nisei, expresses himself as follows:

The second generation was separated from the first linguistically, culturally, politically. From wide acquaintance among them, I would state categorically

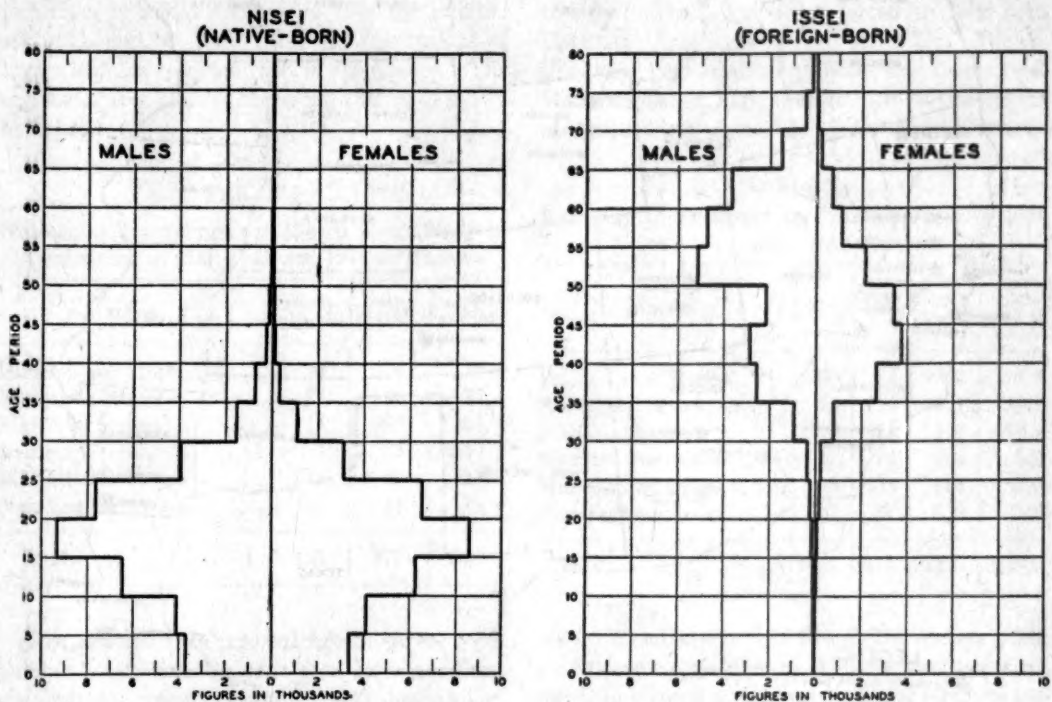


FIG. 1. JAPANESE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX PACIFIC COAST STATES: 1940

and dancing; they are essentially conservative in social life and politics. Private enterprise could have no firmer supporters. They were not politically minded; they worried much less about international affairs than about getting the family car for Saturday night.³

One Nisei stresses the acculturation as follows:

We are Americans, not by virtue of our birth in America, but by virtue of the social and cultural forces in America. We are Americans not by the same mere technicality of birth, but by all the other forces of

that the overwhelming bulk of the second generation were Japanese only in appearance.³

Only in its marginal economic and social position, and its consequent unwillingness to migrate to other sections of the United States, did the college Nisei betray their dependence upon the Japanese community and some of its institutions.

The reaction of the American trained college group to Japan and Japanese foreign policy was in

¹ George E. Taylor, "The Japanese in our Midst," *Atlantic Monthly*, 171: 4 (April 1943), 105.

² Michio Kunitani, *Tolan Hearings*, Part 29, p. 11221.

³ Carey McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin* (New York, 1943), p. 169.

the tradition of other second generation groups in this country. Indifference was the typical reaction, with some supporting Japanese policy, and others actively opposing the shipping of scrap-iron from the United States. Once Japan allied herself with the Berlin-Rome axis, the vast majority of college trained Nisei committed them-

control, racism, and the resultant formation of gangs, incidents, and riots.

The second generation itself suffered from fears related to its loss of status in American life. It became increasingly dominated by the symbol of loyalty as its defense against marginality in the United States, or even, deportation to Japan. By



FIG. 2. LOCATION OF ASSEMBLY (W.C.A.) AND RELOCATION (W.R.A.) CENTERS

selves politically and psychologically to the United States.

Pearl Harbor and the subsequent events saw many changes in the role of the college group. The effective leadership which the Nisei gained before evacuation, was challenged by the older generation when it was found that citizenship carried no guarantee against eviction. Within the relocation centers, the college group had to contend with insecurities, fears, the breakdown of family

early 1943, many of the college group who had embraced leadership opportunities within the relocation centers, decided to abandon that goal in favor of joining the Army or resettling in college communities.

In college relocation, the Nisei participated in a pattern unique in the history of the United States. Whereas, formerly, the unskilled and the lower economic levels, or at the best, a cross-section of a minority group migrated, in the case of the Jap-

anese Americans the highly assimilated noncompetitive college students were the migrants. Likewise the Nisei dispersion was unique as the college group, with few exceptions, settled in groups of less than a dozen in communities where sponsoring agencies in addition to the colleges were secured before the arrival of the students.

The extent of the dispersion of the college Nisei is shown by the respective number of college student bodies having second generation Japanese in 1941, 1943, and 1944. Before Pearl Harbor there were 93 colleges outside the Pacific Coast States enrolling Nisei; by June 1943 the number had risen to 271, by February 1944 the number was 430, and by June 1944, 529 institutions of higher learning reported Nisei in attendance. The regional distribution of these institutions is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH NISEI WERE IN ATTENDANCE IN 1941, 1943, AND 1944 BY REGIONS

| REGION | DECEMBER 1941 | JUNE 1943 | FEBRUARY 1944 |
|---------------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| Pacific Coast States..... | 88 | 10 | 14 |
| Rocky Mt. States..... | 11 | 35 | 47 |
| Mid-West States..... | 45 | 135 | 253 |
| Southern States..... | 9 | 33 | 59 |
| Mid-Atlantic States..... | 22 | 49 | 87 |
| New England States..... | 11 | 17 | 29 |
| Total..... | 186 | 279 | 489 |

Although the 1944 regional figures on the total number of students in each area have not been released, the trend begun in 1943 has gained momentum in the last year and a half. This is evidenced by the growth in the number of college enrolling Nisei. In 1941, 92.2 percent of the second generation in college were attending institutions in the Pacific Coast States, two years later this number was less than four percent. The general picture of the distribution of students by areas is shown in Table 2.

Although figures have not been released on the sex ratio of Nisei in colleges, the proportion of women has increased markedly since the announcement of enlistment opportunity for Nisei in the armed services. Withdrawals from colleges for service in the all Nisei Combat unit in Italy reached a peak in the Spring of 1943.

Out of the study of the College Nisei from 1931 to 1944, certain conclusions seem warranted in that they logically grow out of the assembled data.

I. DISPERSION MAKES A BREAK WITH JAPANESE INSTITUTIONS, AND THEREBY SPEEDS THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS. The institutions of social control maintained by the older generation, such as the Japanese newspapers, the language schools, the associations, the Buddhist churches, the segregated Christian churches, and the segregated Japanese community itself, are not present in most of the communities to which the college Nisei are now migrating. As a result, the second generation college evacuees are being forced to mix with Caucasian Americans in their social life. The results have been surprising to the Nisei themselves. For example, at Park College in Missouri, all six of the undergraduate social clubs "rushed" evacu-

TABLE 2

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGE NISEI IN 1941 AND 1943

| REGION | 1941 | 1943 | PER CENT OF 1941 TOTAL | PER CENT OF 1943 TOTAL |
|---------------------------|------|------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Pacific Coast States..... | 3190 | 51 | 92.2 | 3.4 |
| Rocky Mt. States..... | 73 | 556 | 2.1 | 38.2 |
| Mid-West States..... | 119 | 633 | 3.4 | 42.7 |
| Southern States..... | 11 | 74 | 0.3 | 4.9 |
| Mid-Atlantic States..... | 48 | 123 | 1.4 | 8.3 |
| New England States..... | 20 | 37 | 0.6 | 2.5 |
| Total..... | 3461 | 1474 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ees for membership. At Brown University, John Aiso became a member of the governing board of the Interfraternity Council; while at Ohio State University, Kiyoshi Nakama was elected to membership in Delta Upsilon fraternity. Nisei at the University of Nebraska voted that they "under no circumstances would form a Japanese Students' Club, but would join available social groups with Americans of Caucasian ancestry."

II. THE MIGRATION OF THE NISEI IS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THAT OF OTHER MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES. European immigration to the United States has been on the whole that of peasants, semi-skilled, and skilled factory workers to industrial urban centers in the East and mid-West. Migration of the Negro, which began in large numbers in 1915, was largely a war migration caused by a lack of manpower in northern factories.

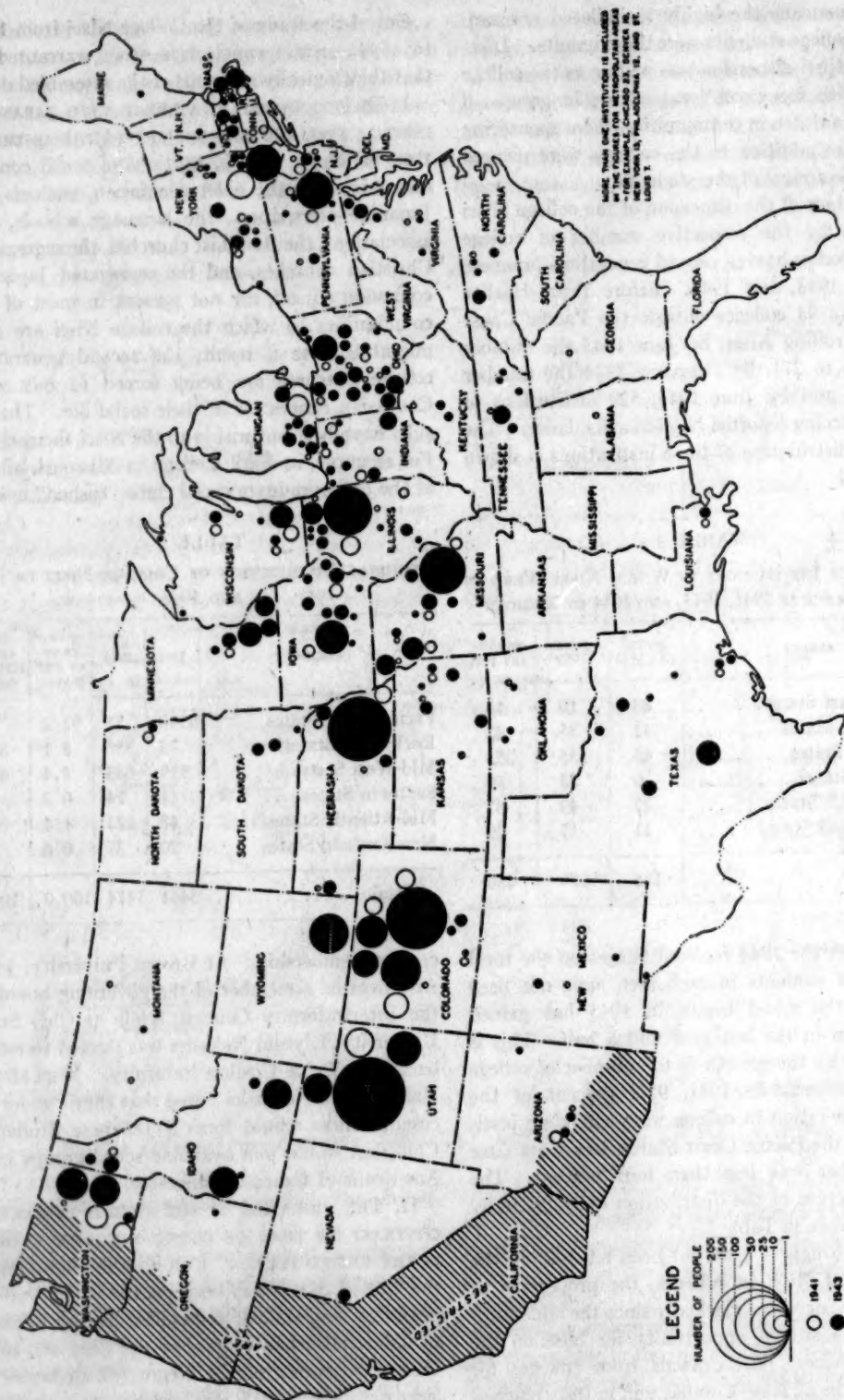


FIG. 3. NISEI STUDENTS IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OUTSIDE RESTRICTED AREAS: 1941 AND 1943

This migration was that of farm people to stockyards, steel mills, and auto factories in the industrial centers. When the war boom was over, the unskilled and semi-skilled Negro workers felt strong competition from the better entrenched white laborers. In the same manner Mexican agrarian workers were brought into severe competition with unskilled workers in the steel centers of the North.⁴ While Chinese dispersion took the form of scattering into small towns and cities as well as migration to urban centers, it was, with the exception of the colony in the Mississippi Delta,⁵ generally restricted to laundry managers and restaurant operators. Thus the bulk of the minority group migrants were persons fitted neither by education nor by cultural acquirements to associate freely with the dominant elements in the white Anglo-Saxon American community.

In contrast, the migration of the Nisei has centered around the noncompetitive college group. Fifteen months after evacuation, more than half the evacuees living outside the relocation centers in the states of Utah, Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania were students registered in colleges. This group looked upon itself as ambassadors of good will for the Japanese American group in general.

III. THE WIDE AREA OF DISPERSION OF THE NISEI MAKES FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE INTERRACIAL EDUCATION PROCESS BOTH FOR THE NISEI AND THE WHITE AMERICANS. When the Nisei college students were largely concentrated in Pacific Coast institutions, little active concern for their complete integration into American social life was expressed by their classmates. Today in the majority of the 539 colleges and universities which have accepted evacuees, there have been formed welcome committees. In many of the institutions Nisei have been elected to places of leadership. For example, Kenji Okuda was elected president of the student body at Oberlin, while Tom Hayashi was chosen for a like position at Bard College, and Bill Marutani and Masamori Kojimata held student government presidencies at South Dakota Wesleyan

and Haverford respectively. In athletics, Nisei were frequently honored by their team-mates with the position of captain of the Ohio State swimming team and the University of Wisconsin boxing team going to Kiyoshi Nakama and Dick Miyagawa.

In the field of religious activity, the Nisei are attending for the first time in large numbers non-segregated churches. Exclusively Nisei religious services in Chicago have been dispensed with so that the evacuees could take advantage of their invitation to participate in American churches. Denver Nisei belong to a mixed Caucasian-American and Japanese American group which provided folk dancing and bull sessions as well as formal religious activities.

In the small communities, where there are only one or two Nisei students, the second generation has been forced to seek its social relationships with other Americans who are being educated to appreciate the fact that Nisei are not Japanese, but are American. Thus there is growing a new reciprocal process of education between the Nisei and other college students throughout the United States.

IV. DISPERSION IS ONE OF THE BEST MEANS OF PROMOTING ASSIMILATION. The Assimilation process which began on the Pacific Coast has been accelerated by the dispersion of the college Nisei throughout the United States. Lack of economic opportunity, long one of the chief stumbling blocks to assimilation, no longer exists as a major problem. In Iowa, for example, one Nisei is principal of an all-white high school, while another holds a high editorial position on the influential *Des Moines Register*. In contrast to the limited opportunities for vocational or specialized training on the Pacific Coast, today 62 hospitals and schools of nursing have accepted college Nisei.

Dispersion has also led some second generation Japanese to the adoption of American names. Although many Nisei changed their Christian names from Yoshi, Yuki, and Haru to Elsie, Daisy, and Rose⁶ in pre-evacuation days, the adoption of an Anglicized last name was quite uncommon. Today a number of college Nisei are obtaining English sounding last names as a symbol and indication of their assimilation. Often the names are translated like that of Private Katsuyoshi Ushino who is now legally known as Robert Castle. Others like Dr. Newton K. Uyesugi, now at Earlham College, have merely

⁴ See Paul Taylor's series of studies on Mexican labor in the United States, Published by the University of California, 1928-1936. Also Robert W. O'Brien, "That Northern Mexican," *Pomona College Magazine*, XX: 1 (October 1931), 29-33.

⁵ Robert W. O'Brien, "Status of the Chinese in the Mississippi Delta," *Social Forces*, 19: 3 (March 1941), 386-390.

⁶ W. C. Smith, *Americans in Process* (Ann Arbor, 1937), p. 248.

adopted an Anglicized name. His reaction to the change of name follows:

... The real purpose of this letter is to let you know that I have legally changed my name from Newton K. Uyesugi to Newton K. Wesley. I have had so much difficulty in the pronunciation and spelling of the old name that I have long thought of changing it. Now since I will have to begin my life all over again, I think that it was an opportune time to have the courts act upon my name.⁷

In small communities all over the United States, many college trained Nisei are assuming for the first time jobs for which they have been trained. While a major part of this opportunity can be traced to the wartime manpower shortage, it is important to note the upward occupational trend, which is possible when the second generation migrates to areas in which prejudice against the Oriental has not been crystallized.

V. COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE IN ADVANCE OF THE MIGRATION OF THE COLLEGE NISEI REDUCES THE POSSIBILITIES OF CONFLICT AND SETS A NEW PATTERN OF RACE RELATIONS. Perhaps no group in America has migrated under as favorable circumstances as the college Nisei, who are accepted in a college only after written community approval from either municipal officials or welfare agencies has been secured. This gives the evacuees a sponsoring group in addition to the college which has agreed to accept them. It is significant also that at least one-fifth of the 3044 relocated students are on scholarships administered by the local institutions.

Lillian Ota discusses a second generation reaction to the friendly atmosphere of a New England campus:

You'll be invited to teas and dinners at the homes of people that helped to get you out to college. Further you can almost count on being invited to the home of one of your fellow students for some week end.⁸

The concept of sponsoring committees of representative local citizens has been carried over to the resettlement of Japanese Americans outside the college communities. College trained Nisei are likewise insisting upon union membership before accepting jobs where workers are organized.

⁷ Document 81.

⁸ Lillian Ota, "Campus Report," *Trek* (February 1943), p. 33. Project Reports Division, Central Utah Relocation Center.

Thus the evacuees through community acceptance in advance of their migration are avoiding many of the pitfalls of the European, Negro, and Mexican migrants.

Tek Sakurai, in a report on a student conference at Wooster College, summarized the preferred position of the Nisei migrant as follows:

Because of my long hibernation in the center, I found that I had forgotten much of the problems of other races and groups—the Negro, the sharecroppers, the migratory workers, the Mexicans, the Indians, and the Jews. The advantages that the Japanese Americans held over these other minority groups were evident. While the problems of the Japanese Americans were acute, there were more people and more agencies of recognized standing to aid us.⁹

VI. CONTACTS OF THE COLLEGE NISEI ON A NONCOMPETITIVE LEVEL MAY POINT THE WAY FOR THE SOLUTION OF MINORITY PROBLEMS. Sociologists have long recognized that race prejudice has been closely connected with economic competition. Present-day students of race relations characterize the psychological phenomena of group tensions, taboos, hostilities, and aggression as being incidental to the basic fact of economics.¹⁰ The traditional pattern of minority migrations in the United States has been one of intensifying racial friction. Generally new groups have been imported as "cheap labor," with the consequent distrust of the new migrants by labor unions and old residents alike.

Japanese migration to the United States began on a noncompetitive level when a trade delegation of officials and merchants was enthusiastically received in this country in 1860.¹¹ As later contact with Japanese was that of competing workers under the stress of modern labor conditions, the early popularity of the Issei waned. The current

⁹ Tek Sakurai in *Gila News Courier* (February 15, 1944).

¹⁰ The economic emphasis to race relations is stressed by Charles S. Johnson in "Race Relations and Social Change," *Race Relations and Race Problems* (Duke University, 1939), pp. 271-291. Monica Hunter covers the economic basis of Bantu-European relations in *Reaction to Conquest* (London, 1936), pp. 7-10 and 546-551. Other important aspects of this problem are stated by Allison Davis and Burleigh Gardner in *Deep South* (Chicago, 1941); Richard Sterner, *The Negroes Share* (New York 1943).

¹¹ For an interesting summary of the literature of the early period see Chapter I in Jesse F. Steiner's *The Japanese Invasion* (Chicago, 1917).

dispersion of the Nisei generation is in the non-competitive role of college students, making it possible for individuals and communities to get used to Japanese Americans under social situations offering less tension.

The apparent success of the Nisei in securing acceptance in the face of a war situation with Japan, leads some students to believe that the college group may be pointing the way to a partial solution of minority problems.

VII. ACCEPTANCE OF THE COLLEGE NISEI IN SOUTHERN WHITE INSTITUTIONS POINTS TO A MODIFICATION OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH. Although eleven Nisei attended colleges south of the Mason-Dixon line in 1941, there was considerable doubt on the part of the second generation Japanese as to their status within the caste system. In view of the position assigned to the Negro, and the segregated schools for Chinese, the Nisei were at first hesitant in applying for relocation in southern white institutions. However, the experience of Nisei soldiers stationed in the South was encouraging and, by spring of 1943, 74 evacuees had registered in 26 southern colleges. One of them, Joe Negata, became somewhat of a campus hero as the first team quarterback for the Orange Bowl Louisiana State football team. In Dallas, Texas the only two Nisei in a junior high school were elected to the class presidency and the presidency of the home-room respectively. Baylor University voted Toyoko Hayashi as the Queen of the annual Junior Prom.

By 1944, 53 colleges and universities in the South, together with 29 in Missouri and 5 in Maryland, had admitted over 320 Nisei, thus setting a definite stamp of approval on the second generation as belonging on the "white side" of the segregation line. The substantial character of the sponsorship of the Nisei is indicated by the caliber of the institutions accepting students of Japanese ancestry. Among the southern colleges and universities registering evacuees were: Tulane, Vanderbilt, Baylor, Emory, Wake-Forest, Rice, Goucher, Lynchburg, and the Universities of North Carolina, Texas, Louisiana, Missouri, Maryland, and Florida.

A new etiquette in race relations for a nonwhite group was proposed by the *Anniston (Alabama) Star* in these words:

They [the Nisei] are deeply hurt when referred to as "Japs," but do not mind being called J.A.'s, which stands for Japanese Americans. We should treat them with consideration and respect then, for just what they are—patriotic young men who are offering their lives on the altar of their country to the end that freedom and justice may not perish.¹²

The acceptance of the Japanese Americans was not wholly unexpected as the southern segregation policy in other instances favors the Japanese. In Memphis, for example, Chinese are buried in the Negro section of Elmwood cemetery, while Japanese use the same section as whites. In granting the college Nisei, a nonwhite racial group, a place within the segregated white community, the caste system shows signs of modification. This is particularly interesting in the light of the segregated school system for Chinese in the same section of the South.

To the extent that these seven conclusions are accepted as sound, they provide the Japanese Americans with at least two suggestions for their guidance in working toward a solution of their problems of adjustment into American life.

(1) The Japanese Americans should take advantage of every opportunity to secure a higher education in colleges and universities where they can enjoy close and friendly contacts with white Americans under the most favorable conditions.

(2) Although the rights of the Japanese to return to the Pacific Coast must be safeguarded, in the interest of early and rapid assimilation, it is inadvisable for the Nisei to attempt a mass return to the segregated communities from which they were evacuated. The comparatively small number of Japanese Americans in continental United States (approximately 100,000) makes it possible for them through carefully planned dispersion to be absorbed with a minimum of friction into the American community.

¹² *Anniston Star* (March 12, 1944). Quoted in the *Pacific Citizen* (April 1, 1944).

A SOCIAL APPROACH TO WILLIAM McDUGALL

NICHOLAS PASTORE

New York City

THE sociological point of view has been largely ignored by psychologists either in tracing the development of trends or in the explication of psychological controversies. This neglect is all the more regrettable since psychology is fraught with social implications. In this essay the relevance of sociological factors in the analysis of McDougall, a leading figure in the rise of modern psychology, will be indicated.

The pattern of the social opinions of McDougall is that of a conservative who is perturbed by those social forces which threaten the stability of the status quo. He once admitted in a book on social questions that because of his strong conservative bias, which he said was constitutional with him, he could not write with complete objectivity.¹ He recognized, too, that he might be charged as a "hanger-on of the capitalist class."² His social opinions show that this reproach was not entirely unfounded. For instance, he wrote, as an English eugenicist, that

... many of the social changes which have been directly affected or are now going on in this country directly favour the reproduction of the inferior classes. Such are the low price of bread and sugar, the tendency to throw taxation chiefly on the well-to-do classes; enormous charities, free feeding of school children, free milk-depots, free education, free medical and surgical treatment, the building of dwellings for the working classes out of public funds, and lastly the abolition of the excessive infant mortality among the lowest classes.³

Implied in this passage and made more explicit elsewhere is the view that social reforms, usually regarded as progressive, operate as degenerating factors to the development of society. In a similar vein, McDougall represented democracy as a decadent stage of society. He asserted as a truth that

... a nation which allows itself to drift into an ultra-democracy does a grave injury to civilization, to all the higher interests of mankind.⁴

¹ *Indestructible Union*, 1925, p. ix.

² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³ "A Practicable Eugenic Suggestion," *Sociological Papers*, 3 (1906), 65.

⁴ *Ethics and Some Modern World Problems* (1924), p. 194.

He wrote that Great Britain would decline as a civilization chiefly because of the successful development of its democratic institutions.⁵ He thought that democracy could not work because of the low intellectual level of the people.⁶ It is not surprising then to find that McDougall accepted the fascist ideal. Thus, he offered "some form of Fascism or oligarchy" as a substitute for the democratic institutions for which there no longer was any hope of survival.⁷ In an "open letter" to the "Emperor of Japan" he expressed deep admiration for that country, for their strong government, for their highly disciplined people; Japan is contrasted to America and by implication is assigned the highest place in this coming age.⁸ He argued that English racial stock, which was predominantly of Nordic blood, was "second to none."⁹ Apparently he was anti-Semitic for he labeled Freudian psychoanalysis, which to him "seems so strange, bizarre, and fantastic" a Jewish science.¹⁰ The effects of McDougall's social attitude upon his thinking will now be taken up.

Social exigencies directed McDougall's thinking to practical questions. He declared that

The aim of psychology is to render our knowledge of human nature more exact and more systematic, in order that we may control our selves more wisely and influence our fellow men more effectively.¹¹

⁵ *Is America Safe for Democracy?* (1921), p. 157.

⁶ R. B. Cattell, editor, *Human Affairs* (1937), p. 343. For McDougall the progressive nations comprised the hereditary aristocracies (*Social Psychology*, 1913 edition, p. 343). That he advocated a caste type of society is evident when he argued that for the American people, "The time is at hand when the vast majority of her people must, like the people of other lands, be content to do their duty in that station of life to which they have been born." (*Indestructible Union*, 1925, p. 145).

⁷ *World Chaos* (1932), p. 42 f.

⁸ *Religion and the Sciences of Life* (1934), chap. 7.

⁹ *Indestructible Union*, p. 87.

¹⁰ *Is America Safe for Democracy?* p. 127. McDougall was English by birth. In 1920 he came to America to head the psychology department at Harvard University.

¹¹ *Outline of Psychology* (1923), p. 1.

He once complained that

By 1904 . . . I had begun to realize that I was throwing my seed on stony ground, that my work along the lines I was pursuing could not find a public.¹²

And, from this point on his writings assume a popular character. To McDougall psychology was of momentous social importance, due to the lack of the proper psychology "our civilization threatens to fall into chaos and decay."¹³ He pointed out that psychology could have saved the British Empire, he claimed that

It is a fair presumption that, if we had not grossly neglected these studies, we might have avoided the present difficulties in India and China; and our Indian Empire might not have been lost.¹⁴

The neglect of psychology in Great Britain has not only caused difficulties of empire but has also led to strikes, unemployment, and general unrest; in America where psychology has not so been neglected the opposite situation prevails.¹⁵ However, not only must psychology have social implications but it must be of the right sort; the type of psychology propounded must be a stabilizing and not a disruptive social influence. Thus, in writing of the social effects of Freudianism he declared that

The relations between the generations are already endangered by the many violent changes of the social order which we owe to physical science. It is for psychology to prevent, to provide against and to rectify the disastrous consequences of these too violent and disruptive changes. But instead, the Freudian psychology has worked as an additional disruptive force, especially among the strata of our communities which more than any other have the power and function of moulding social tradition and practice.¹⁶

The basic and pervasive feature of McDougall's thinking is his hereditarian point of view. For him, innate propensities and blood characteristics determine the whole range of individual and social behavior.¹⁷ For instance, types of governments and religions are the expressions of innate factors.¹⁸

¹² Carl Murchison, editor, *History of Psychology in Autobiography* (1930), p. 207.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹⁴ *World Chaos*, p. 70 f.

¹⁵ *Religion and the Sciences of Life*, chap. 13.

¹⁶ *Psychoanalysis and Social Psychology* (1936), p. 196.

¹⁷ *Social Psychology* (1913), ed., p. 44 and passim.

¹⁸ *Group Mind* (1920), p. 160 ff.

He held that "the most urgent problem" of psychology is "that of the nature and extent of the innate basis of mental life."¹⁹ In the field of social reform his point of view was likewise hereditarian. Social betterment can only come through changes in the innate constitution of a people.²⁰

That this hereditarian bias is a consequence of a conservative point of view will be made evident in an examination of some of McDougall's psychological views.²¹ The doctrine of instincts,²² ac-

¹⁹ Carl Murchison, editor, *History of Psychology in Autobiography*, p. 222.

²⁰ "The Island of Eugenia," *Scribner's Magazine*, 70 (1921), 483-491.

²¹ Since McDougall held that psychology must be a socially stabilizing influence, the hereditarian emphasis of his psychology probably was intended to have such an effect. In its social consequences, the hereditarian point of view leads to the view that the system of social relationship is a direct outcome of innate factors. Reform, which is based upon modifying institutional relationships, is doomed to failure; the proposed changes would not be compatible with the innate qualities of the people.

²² The doctrine of instincts was expounded in his *Introduction to Social Psychology*. McDougall's reputation as a psychologist was considerably enhanced as a result of its publication and ensuing popularity, the book having run through more editions than any other text on psychology. The vogue that the doctrine enjoyed as a result of McDougall's exposition of it is the result of its historical appropriateness; some individuals accepted it because, being written in the current biological language, it expressed a trend away from the then contemporaneous socially sterile psychological thinking as exemplified in structural and intellectualistic types of psychology. (Cf. John Dewey, "The Need for Social Psychology," *Psychological Review*, 25, 1917, 266-277. Also, C. A. Ellwood, Review of *Introduction to Social Psychology*, *Economic Bulletin*, 2, 1909, 168-171). However, there is another factor involved, viz., it fitted in well with the hereditarian temper of the period. The treatment of instincts from the innate point of view is not unconnected with the eugenist trend which had crystallized as a distinct movement several years before and which commanded a large following in England. The eugenists had been promoting the view that intellectual ability is inherited and unmodifiable. The next step remained that impulses, or urges to action, be brought within the same frame work. It was this task that McDougall, himself a zealous eugenist, undertook. Thus, the writing of *Social Psychology* was suggested to McDougall by one of England's leading eugenists (Cf. C. W. Saleeby, *Parenthood and Race Culture*, 1909, p. 134).

according to McDougall's conception of it, does not necessarily lead to the view that all behavior is the outcome of innate impulses. By his definition and usage of the notion of instinct,²³ the stimuli for the instincts are necessary conditions for the appearance of instinctive modes of action for if they are not present then the organism cannot act in the way in which its impulses prescribe. Thus, logically speaking, neither set of factors enjoy a distinctive primacy. McDougall, however, proscribed the causal role of environmental factors in the explanation of individual development and likewise in the social applications of the doctrine, as the nature of the applications reveal.²⁴

One mainspring of behavior emphasized by McDougall was the acquisitive instinct. He declared that

Its strength seems to be a quality essential to any people that is to build up a civilization on the accumulation of wealth, on commerce and industry, as every higher civilization has been. Owing to this necessity, every communistic or socialistic scheme which would abolish private property is an empty dream, an unrealizable ideal, a Utopia.²⁵

This instinctual interpretation of a social fact lacks scientific meaning, for social events derive their unique meaning from the nexus of social relationships whereas instincts derive their meaning from certain types of individual behavior without reference to social norms. Thus there is no empirical test for the statements that the "acquisitive instinct is essential for higher civilization," and that this instinct 'precludes socialism.' To say that the acquisitive instinct accounts for the accumulation of private property is really another way of saying that the status quo is natural. Writing at a time when a revolution had just occurred in one large country and unrest was marked in all the other major powers, McDougall's insistence on the inevitable social consequences of the acquisitive instinct was a plea for the maintenance of the prevailing social arrangements.

The acquisitive instinct, since it did not have clear meaning, could be construed to fit the facts, whatever they happened to be. If some peoples

²³ *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 1913 edition, p. 29 *passim*.

²⁴ Other individuals have utilized the notion of instincts, for example, Veblen, and have emphasized the stimuli or environmental factors; Veblen, it should be recalled was a critic of the status quo.

²⁵ *Is America Safe for Democracy?* p. 122 f.

are not strongly acquisitive, this can be explained by claiming that in those peoples the instinct is weak.²⁶ The intensity of this instinct varies from social class to social class, and is the principal ground for class stratification;²⁷ that is, in the upper classes the instinct is strong, in the lower classes it is weak, and in the middle classes it is of medium intensity.

The applications of the other instincts follow a similar pattern. The pugnacity instinct is responsible for wars.²⁸ It also "makes of Europe an armed camp."²⁹ In the peoples of China and India this instinct is "deficient";³⁰ in the Germanic tribes it was especially strong,³¹ and in recent times, it has increased in intensity.³² The increased influence of the parental instinct in modern times had led to the abolition of slavery and serfdom.³³ It has led to the "admission to political power of the masses of the people, which in this and several other countries, has been carried very nearly as far as legislation can carry it."³⁴ What is generally known as British imperialism is attributed to the greater instinctive curiosity of the Nordic race.³⁵ The British, due to their "superior innate will-power," were able to quell the Indian Mutiny of 1857.³⁶ Negroes, due to their strong instinct of submission, have a tendency to be ruled by absolute despots; thus their "elevation" and "maintenance" depends upon others.³⁷ Further, the Negroes are inherently incapable of maintaining or creating a society above that of barbarism.³⁷ The important factor in the growth of cities is the gregarious instinct and not "any economic neces-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁸ *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 1913 edition, p. 280.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69 f.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58 f., p. 118 f. In evidence for a strong submissive instinct McDougall cites "a true story of a Negro maid, whose Northern mistress, after treating her with great forbearance for a time, in spite of shortcomings, turned upon her and scolded her vigorously. The maid showed no resentment, but rather showed signs of a new satisfaction, and exclaimed: 'Lor, Missus, you do make me feel so good.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 118.)

sities of the industrial organization."³⁸ With McDougall innate tendencies become ad hoc principles, a tendency against which he warned.³⁹

To McDougall the stress upon environmental factors was socially disruptive. He stated that Locke's environmentalistic doctrine of tabula rasa "has played a great part in determining British policy in its relations with British dependencies and their populations, notably India."⁴⁰ It was McDougall's view that the lack of a proper psychology was leading to the break-up of the British Empire. Apparently, Locke's psychology was a divisive influence in Empire relations. Indirectly, such reforms as self-government, increased educational facilities, etc., were the consequences of Locke's doctrine.⁴¹

McDougall contended that Watsonian behaviourism was reestablishing the tabula rasa doctrine. In a debate with Watson over the merits of behaviourism, McDougall argued, with some humor, that "Dr. Watson's views are attractive to those who are born tired, no less than to those who are born Bolsheviks."⁴² Further, he wrote years later that

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 296 f.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴⁰ *Group Mind*, p. 153.

⁴¹ To McDougall the Indians were of low innate caliber and therefore could not profit by such reforms. He maintained that force was necessary in order to keep down the subject populations. Further, he suggests that Western Culture is "injurious to the intellect and moral nature of Indians" (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 164. Also, "The British in the East," *Southern Quarterly Review*, 28, 1929, 136-151). McDougall associates Locke's doctrine of tabula rasa with democratic tendencies of society (*Energies of Men*, 1933, p. 82). He explains the development of Locke's political principles, sociologically, as the result of Locke's attempt to justify the revolution of 1688 (*Group Mind*, p. 4). There is much truth to McDougall's view that tabula rasa "consorted well with liberalism." Thus, Locke, an outstanding progressive of his time, formulates a doctrine which would further progressive aims. On the basis of tabula rasa, social reforms are rendered theoretically possible since from that view social arrangements and evils are not ingrained in the innate mental equipment of man. Parenthetically, tabula rasa does not presuppose that men are born equal as McDougall represents it. Locke fully recognized the fact of innate inequalities (Cf. John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, 1902 edition, p. 40 and passim).

⁴² Watson and McDougall, *The Battle of Behaviorism* (1928), p. 42.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the two most ominous agencies of the present age, Russian Communism and American behaviourism, are built upon a misinterpretation of Professor Pavlov's justly famous experiments on 'conditioned reflexes.'⁴³

At a time when the doctrine of instincts was severely criticized McDougall called his critics "reactionaries" and their "institutional approach" as "reactionary."⁴⁴ He asserted that the controversy over the doctrine "is a matter of the largest practical importance."⁴⁵ He argued that the environmentalistic type of psychology, which the "deniers of instincts" propounded, "has led to the brink of irretrievable disaster."⁴⁶ On the other hand, the hereditarian type of psychology is necessary for "social health and national prosperity and stability."⁴⁶ Further evidence that McDougall's point of view was conditioned by social factors is found in his views on individual differences.

McDougall attributed class inequality to innate inequality in intelligence.⁴⁶ Such a view is obviously incompatible with the notion that institutional factors are of causal significance. He asserted that an individual would reach that rung in society which his heredity prescribed "in spite of all the accidents of health, in spite of the inheritance of wealth and the handicaps of poverty."⁴⁷ However, poverty has its redeeming features since "poverty in youth stimulates to effort and self-development" whereas "the inheritance of wealth is a positive detriment."⁴⁷ For him the inferior classes are responsible for the social evils from which they suffer; social arrangements are blameless. For instance, he maintained that "it is roughly true to say that only the grossly incompetent, the inadaptable, and the very unfortunate, suffer serious hardships."⁴⁸ He strongly argued that political and social equality would lead to social chaos.⁴⁹ Universal education was likewise ruled out; McDougall stated that 75 per cent of the American people did not have the innate capacity to go through high school.⁵⁰

⁴³ *Energies of Men*, p. 197.

⁴⁴ "Can Sociology Dispense with Instincts?" *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 19 (1924), 40.

⁴⁵ "Use and Abuse of Instinct in Social Psychology," *Ibid.*, 16 (1921-22), 333.

⁴⁶ *Is America Safe for Democracy?* p. 67 (footnote).

⁴⁷ *Religion and the Sciences of Life* (1934), p. 156.

⁴⁸ *Indestructible Union*, p. 215.

⁴⁹ *Ethics and Some Modern Problems* (1924), p. 113.

⁵⁰ *Is America Safe for Democracy?* p. 162.

These social applications are not the unbiased conclusions from the available body of data. McDougall consistently ignored the findings of the environmentalists. The data he adduced in support of his views were not examined critically, the conclusions of investigators favorable to his point of view were usually accepted unquestioningly. That the conclusions McDougall drew were not unique is demonstrated by some obvious major inconsistencies. He maintains that the inheritance of mental qualities is scientifically established; yet he writes that "the answer to the question in dispute must remain a matter of opinion."⁵¹ He denied the causal potency of environmental factors in social development and yet he held that "the superiority of [modern] man is very largely a matter of social, rather than of biological inheritance."⁵² He attributed class inequality to variations in the acquisitive instinct as a principal cause when discussing the instinct doctrine, and to variations in intellectual capacity when discussing individual differences. These inconsistent views of McDougall, his unsound scientific approach with respect to the development of those views, his social applications of his doctrines, are explicable in terms of his attempt to justify a conservative view of things.

There is another distinctive feature of McDougall's thinking, his supernaturalism, which was shaped by his attitude towards social issues. Thus he writes that the answer that is given to the issue of materialism versus animism or purposivism "affects in a multitude of ways the conduct of our lives, the form and working of all our institutions, our science, our law, our politics, our economics, our morals, our religion."⁵³ He maintained that the "mechanistic disease" adversely affected the social sciences.⁵⁴ The social consequences of materialism or mechanism were social instability. He attributed to spreading materialism and the decay of religion the destruction of "the great civilizations in which they have grown strong."⁵⁵ And, due to physical science, which was equated to materialism, McDougall wrote that "We live, then, in an age of grave social disorder and threatening chaos."⁵⁶ Further, the "mechanical theory of man" is the theoretical

basis of the attempt of the "Russian Soviets" to build a new society.⁵⁷

Perhaps from the desire to render no comfort whatever to the forces of materialism, McDougall accepted many beliefs which are scientifically untenable. Thus, he believed in the reality of "ghostly apparitions."⁵⁸ He claimed that the "physical world has been shaped by and is an expression of spirit."⁵⁹ He inclined to the view that the "Mind or Intellect existed full-blown before the evolution of the brain."⁶⁰ The "hypothesis of soul" also found a legitimate resting place in his view of things.⁶¹ He held that psychical research was needed in order to get facts to serve as a bulwark against 'spreading materialism.'⁶²

McDougall conceived of two approaches to the interpretation of behavior; the mechanistic view against which there was contraposed the purposive, animistic or instinctivist points of view.⁶³ The former alternative led to social instability; and the latter could be construed as leading to a stable social order—the social applications of the instinct doctrine are also to be recalled in this connection. Pragmatically enough, he urged psychologists to pursue a course that was compatible with the "Dionysian" point of view rather than the "Apolonian" which was identified with mechanism and intellectualism; the "Dionysian" point of view which was intuitionistic would lead to the psychology of the future.⁶⁴

McDougall's hereditarian point of view, the practically absolute proscription of environmental factors, his denial of the materialities of the world, his applications and justification of his ideas, were the consequences of his desire to see society remain unchanged. It would be interesting to see to what extent the same type of analysis holds for other psychologists who were within the same web of social relationships.⁶⁵

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁴ E. H. Cotton, editor, *Has Science Discovered God?* (1931), p. 156.

⁵⁵ *Body and Mind* (1911), p. 376 ff.

⁵⁶ *Religion and the Sciences of Life*, p. 59.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 2; *Body and Mind*, p. ix; *Social Psychology*, 1926 edition, p. 441-448; *Outline of Psychology*, 1923, p. vii f.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, chap. 3.

⁵⁹ For further discussion of a sociological approach to psychology see: Nicholas Pastore, "The Nature Nurture Controversy: A Sociological Approach," *School and Society*, 57 (1943), 373-377.

⁶¹ Letter to the New Republic, 34 (1923), p. 346.

⁶² *Energies of Men*, p. 107.

⁶³ *Religion and the Sciences of Life*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ *Frontiers of Psychology* (1934), p. 174.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

SEGMENTAL thinking still exists in academic circles when curricula are being made.

Many persons fail to recognize the fact that the universe in which we live is a unified whole and the various disciplines are merely different approaches to this totality. There is even doubt concerning the close relationship between cultural anthropology and sociology. A recent article brings out the fact that the relationship is not entirely understood by some of the specialists in these two fields.¹ The purpose of this discussion is to compare the phenomena throughout these two fields of study.

An analysis of the phenomena in these two disciplines reveals unity throughout—biologically, culturally, and from the standpoint of human nature. The phenomena are identical in a broad connotative sense. They vary only as differentiations in the same category. In each of the three realms of the existence of all people—the biological, the cultural, and the human nature—the phenomena had a common origin and were produced in the same way. In each area there is a universal common denominator of interactive factors as the analysis will show. Furthermore, the same scientific laws are equally valid and the research methods in each of these three aspects of life can be universally the same. Any law or unifying principle established either by a sociologist or by an anthropologist would have universal application.

BIOLOGICAL UNITY

Peoples studied by the anthropologist belong to the same genus and species as those studied by the sociologist. They were produced in the biological process in the same way, through the interaction of the two parent cells, the sperm cell of the male and the ovum of the female. The individuals of all groups can freely interbreed and produce fertile children. Fertile children have been produced through the mating of the most extreme types of

whites and Negroes.² Had they not belonged to the same species, sterility in the offspring would have resulted.

Modern science has revealed the fact that all human blood is the same whether it comes from the "purest Aryan" or from the African pygmy. There are four blood types found among all human divisions. Blood plasma, no matter what may be its origin, can be used to save the life of any person.³ The differences between groups in the world are found in nonessentials—pigmentation, hair texture, and other external characteristics.

In a genuine sense there is a common organic heritage everywhere throughout this species. There are the same human-nature potentialities found in undefined, dynamic, organic processes. These are random vocalization; undefined intellectual and emotional processes; undefined hunger, sex and thirst processes; and the undefined processes connected with the senses. The random vocalizations of any newborn can become any language; the intellectual and emotional processes lend themselves to development in any culture; the hunger processes are amenable to any food-habit system; and the sex and thirst processes demand no special culture—any culture will do. Undefined processes connected with the senses of sight, hearing, taste, touch and smell have no quality that demands any specific social heritage.⁴ The newborn anywhere in the world is an unbiased candidate for the human nature that can be developed in any culture. In other words, he is equipped to achieve a life organization in any social milieu.

These undefined, organic potentialities for human nature provide a universal common denominator of interactive factors. Laws concerning these potentialities, before they are defined or after they are defined and integrated into a life

¹ Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics* (rev. ed., 1943), p. 36; M. F. Ashley Montague, "The Myth of Blood," *Psychiatry*, VI (1943), 15-19.

² Ruth Benedict and G. Weltfish, *The Races of Man-kind* (Public Affairs Pamphlet, 1943), pp. 8-9.

³ L. Guy Brown, *Social Pathology* (1942), chap. II, pp. 15-31.

⁴ A. S. Tomars, "Some Problems in the Sociologist's Use of Anthropology," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (1943), 629-634.

organization, would apply to people everywhere. If the newborn in groups studied by anthropologists were exchanged for the newborn in groups studied by sociologists, human nature and culture would not be changed. The social definition of the difference in color would be a factor but that would be a cultural rather than an organic matter. Organic potentialities make no special cultural demands. They are available for use in any culture. The United States provides an excellent example for this discussion with a population of Negroes, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, and peoples from all of the European nations.

CULTURAL UNITY

The universe in which we live is a unified whole, the product of four interrelated processes: the astronomical, the geological, the biological, and the social. Everything in the universe was produced in one of these processes. All cultures were achieved in the social process while people were making adjustments to these four processes and the products of the operation of these four processes. Although the adjustments in one instance may be magical and non-scientific and more or less scientific in others, the results are universally the same—human nature and social organization.

Draw a cross section through any culture or any aspect of any culture and one finds human nature and social organization. So these two interactive factors make up the universal common denominator found in all cultures. Functionally speaking, these two factors are never found apart from each other and are the same in a general sense everywhere.

In this universal common denominator, the human nature is the subjective aspect of culture and includes attitudes, ideas, interests, desires, ideologies, and so forth. Social organization includes everything designed for the development and expression of human nature, also everything brought into use from the natural environment. Each culture throughout the world is merely a variation in human nature and social organization, a differentiated result in the operation of the social process. All cultures have a common origin in interactive living, are produced in the same way, and are maintained and changed in the same way. Interactive living on a cultural level is the social process.

Scientific laws are universally applicable to the common denominator in cultural life, among the most "primitive" people or among the human

groups that produce anthropologists and sociologists.

UNITY IN HUMAN NATURE

The newborn individual throughout society starts life as a potential human. He is clean of culture and does not possess human nature. Before him lies the task of achieving human nature and acquiring a world in which to live. The process by which this takes place is universal. The newborn experiences objects, defines them, thus developing attitudes toward them. The defined object becomes a part of his world and the attitude is integrated into his human nature.

When human nature has been achieved it is the same phenomenon in a general sense. Everywhere it contains attitudes, ideas, interests, desires, and so forth. It is achieved through the utilization of the same organic, human-nature potentialities discussed under biological unity in this article. These are random vocalization; intellectual and emotional processes; hunger, thirst and sex processes; and the processes connected with the senses. Throughout social life these potentialities interact with social potentialities to produce human nature. This is the only way human nature can be produced.

After the potentialities in these two heritages have interacted and human nature has been accomplished, this human nature becomes significant in each future adjustment. So one finds the person using his organic and social heritages and his human nature in each activity. In all of this he is having an experience that is unique to him since it is never duplicated by any other person. The universal common denominator found in the experiences of each person in any culture includes his social and organic heritages, his human nature and unique experiences. These are always involved as he achieves each stage in his human nature and acquires a world in which to live.

When this has taken place, any person in any culture has become a social-organic-mental unity. He can be understood only in a frame of reference that includes the four aspects of his life mentioned above. So there is a universal frame of reference in which any person can be studied that includes his organic and social heritages, his human nature and unique experiences.

These four factors are more than interactive factors, they are also experiences. Each person makes adjustments to the structural aspect of his social heritage. Likewise, his organic heritage,

especially disturbances in it, is an attitudinal experience. Furthermore, the person is constantly reacting to his own human nature of attitudes, ideas, desires, and interests in developing more human nature. In the same way the person rehearses his unique experiences, going over them again and again in his imagination, increasing the strength of attitudes, desires, etc., that he developed through them in the first place.

There is no human nature anywhere that is not based on the same human-nature potentialities. Social-psychological laws or mental laws that would be valid in one place, would be equally valid everywhere.

CONCLUSIONS

Viewed from any angle, then, the anthropologist and the sociologist study the same type of phenomena. The two disciplines are convenient divisions of labor. Either the term anthropology or sociology might be used for the two fields. If the specialists in the two fields had been concerned with a frame of reference and the universal common denominator in the phenomena studied, their concepts would have the same connotative and

denotative meanings. If one field of study is a science, then the other one is.

A study of a village among "primitive" peoples would be a study in a class with the study of a village in the United States. This would be true of any other unit. In all cases there would be a study of human nature and social organization.

THE FIRST COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY

There seems to be a problem in the minds of some sociologists about the inclusion of anthropological data in the first course in sociology.⁵ Actually it makes no difference from what culture one draws his illustrations. The purpose of the first course in sociology is to give the student information that is equally valuable for understanding any culture. It should reveal the unifying principles that are equally applicable to all social phenomena. It should provide a frame of reference in which any cultural unit could be studied, understood and explained. The first course in sociology, if properly given, could be a basic course for either sociology or anthropology. Elaborate anthropological materials should be left for courses where there is a comparison of cultures.

⁵ A. S. Tomars, *op. cit.*

THE PERSON'S TIME PERSPECTIVE AND THE SOCIAL ROLE

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I

SEVERAL years ago Lawrence K. Frank published an article in the *Journal of Social Philosophy*¹ where he suggested that modern conceptions of the time-dimension of natural phenomena utilized in the physical sciences might be profitably employed in the interpretation and analysis of personality and group processes:

The conception of a four-dimensional manifold in which occur the events that are now becoming the focus of scientific thinking has brought space-time as the successor to the preceding conception of three-dimensional space and single-dimensional time... This

space-time is not absolute and unvarying but changeable, according to the frame of reference used, so that both space and time are relative...

Perhaps no area is more in need of exploration for its temporal implications than the field of human conduct and none offers more promise of fruitful rewards for imaginative speculation, since all human conduct (and probably all organic behavior) is conditioned by the time-perspectives of the individual and of his culture.²

After indicating by an illustration how the "immediately present" events in the life of the individual increase or decrease in relative importance as more and more distant preceding events or future events are brought into involve-

¹ Lawrence K. Frank, "Time Perspectives," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 4 (July, 1939), 293-312.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 294.

ment with the process of adjustment, Dr. Frank goes on to say:

As we reflect upon these relative dimensions of common events, we are struck by the very complicated scheme of time perspectives operating at any one period in a culture where we see each individual living with and in radically different time perspectives. The very young person will have time perspectives of limited range, while the successive age groups will show more extensive ranges but again with wide individual variations as we may note in those who seem to live almost entirely in the immediate present and those who apparently live almost entirely in the future. To a certain extent we might say that the depth of the future time perspective . . . varies with the depth of the retrospective time perspective. But this changes with the age of the individual who during senescence lives in the present and the past. Whole social classes may be described by the time perspectives that dominate their lives as revealed in the range of their planning, their prudential calculations, their foresight, their abstinence, and so on. . . .³

In the light of the ideas suggested above the present writer wishes here to introduce some speculations about the connection between the individual's time reference and the society in which he lives, using as an example the familiar concept of the social role, the unit of personality which is ordinarily described as a complex of attitudes and overt conduct oriented toward some socially derived goal. It is here suggested that a consideration of the social-psychological processes whereby the individual acquires his roles will indicate a method of approaching the problem of ascertaining the sources of the several time perspectives of the individual personality. Such an approach might also help to bring within the same frame of reference some adjustment problems of the personality that might be attributed to difficulties the individual may have with the time reference factor. What is to follow is set down at some risk of only emphasizing the obvious, since much of the line of argument to be presented is implicit in sociological theories of the personality. It seems to the writer, however, that some of the time reference implications deserve to be singled out for special emphasis in the light of Dr. Frank's scheme.⁴

³ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁴ There are plenty of references to a "time factor" in social and cultural change in the textbooks and many efforts have been made to discover uniform and other types of rates of change. But little if any notice has been taken of the personality and group time perspectives as described by Dr. Frank.

II

At any given instant in the life of the individual his attitudes and overt conduct reflect the complex of general and specific roles that are recognized (by sociologists, at least) to constitute the largely socially acquired content of his personality. At all points during the process of his development the group endeavors to provide the individual with associates who are exhibited as models of behavior, with considerable practice of a direct sort in meeting future social situations and, through the myths and legends, with some sort of approved philosophy of the future. Further, during this process of socialization he is presented with a succession of hypothetical situations—in his play life, his school and informal social life, and so on—the solutions of which are preparatory to solving the "real" situations to be met later in life. These experiences supply the person with the basis for his conception of his role and status in the group⁵ and, since the experiences occurred within the interactional configuration of the group, the nature of the individual's responses in future "real" situations will reflect the previous organization of the group.⁶ If the group changes, the person's responses after the change will be less appropriate as adjustments to the then prevailing group relationships than if no change occurred. The relation of this matter to the time reference of the personality is that while the person defines the present situation with reference to both the present and future (more or less remote, depending upon the amount of foresight he is expected to display as a member of the particular group) consequences of the behavior, the behavior tendencies that constitute the role—or result from his definition of the situation—are the resultant of a multitude of previous first or second hand experiences in groups extending from the immediate to as far remote a past as you please.

The presence of anachronistic elements so derived

⁵ E. T. Hiller, *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1933), chap. XXXVI.

⁶ G. H. Mead's famous statement of this conception of the personality reads as follows: "The unity and structure of the complete self reflects the unity and structure of the social process as a whole; and each of the elementary selves of which it is composed reflects the unity and structure of one of the various aspects of that process in which the individual is implicated. . . . *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago, 1934), p. 144.

is characteristic of even the most common roles the individual is expected to fill in the society, such as the age and sex roles and the roles that accompany the different statuses in the familial structure. For example, in hypothetical situations solved by herself (or by the group for her) in advance of actually encountering the "real" situations, the girl acquires a repertory of responses to be utilized later in filling the roles of sweetheart, aunt, grandmother, and so on. The boy learns how to be an adolescent, lover, husband, grandfather, business man. Both achieve a general philosophy of life by learning the prevailing sets of values; both also achieve a collection of what may be called "general roles."⁷ It should be obvious that some of these roles and values may already be irrelevant to the contemporaneous situations, retaining their place in the socialization process because of the support of group tradition. In a changing society (with its concomitant changes in the culture) these roles so constructed out of empirical experience in the group become progressively less effective as adjustive mechanisms.⁸ In a relatively stable society the roles, despite their reference to the past, would likely retain their adjustive efficacy for longer periods of time because of the repetition, from one generation to the next, of patterns of behavior similar to those in which the roles had their origin.⁹

⁷ G. H. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁸ Of course this is not intended to be a claim that the roles achieved by the person become fixed at some point in his life and remain inflexible thereafter. The role changes in many respects as the situation changes. What is referred to here is the large area of persistent habits of overt action and emotion that is a constituent part of the role. The psychological concept of perseveration deserves more attention by social psychologists in this connection. See G. W. Allport, *Personality, a Psychological Interpretation* (New York, 1937), p. 198; R. S. Woodworth, *Experimental Psychology* (New York, 1938), p. 51. Kimball Young's use of the concept is in line with that suggested here. See his *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* (New York, 1940), pp. 651-652.

⁹ Ralph Linton describes the multiplication of statuses and roles among which the group members must choose in rapidly changing societies. The individual, in making his choices or accepting assignment to the new roles, meets adjustment problems that his personality, organized in terms of the old roles, is but ill equipped to solve. His solutions must be largely extemporaneous. On the other hand, "... Membership in a rigidly organized society may deprive the individual of opportunities to exercise his particular

III

The group member's *self*, considered as the central core of his personality, is commonly regarded as deriving its stability and security from his ability to receive satisfactory (that is, predictable) responses from his associates. The roles whose integration yields the self have, in a sense, two aspects: tendencies to behave in accordance with learned patterns, and expectancies (the anticipatory or predictive aspect) that the other in the social situation will respond in certain ways.

The expectancy aspect of the personality includes the tension and anticipatory phases of any cycle of activity involving interaction with others; the consummatory phase of the cycle can be experienced only insofar as the behavior tendencies of the other coincide with the expectancies of the actor. Completion of the cycle requires that the conception of his role held by the other must be substantially the complement of the actor's conception of his own role.¹⁰

When the person shifts to a new group, or when the present group arrangements shift ("when the future arrives"), he is forced to adjust to a new interactional configuration, to re-cast his self-organization. His ability to identify himself with the other—to predict the other's response to his gesture¹¹—is decreased; his frustrations increase. He uses the adjustment techniques he already knows; while the resulting behavior would have been satisfactory in the old group or under the former arrangements, it will often be considered divergent in the new one.¹² His efforts to move from drive to accustomed goal encounter obstacles, or, indeed, may find the expected satisfactions unavailable in the new *milieu*.

The individual, of course, is ordinarily unaware that his efforts to adjust in the manner described reflect his own and the group's time perspectives. The fact that his socially conditioned responses to the group's myths and legends and the memories (conscious and unconscious) of his own unique experiences constitute his retrospective time perspective is not part of his working knowledge.

gifts, but it gives him an emotional security which is almost unknown among ourselves. . . ." *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 131.

¹⁰ J. E. Hulett, Jr., "The Social Role of the Mormon Polygamous Male," *American Sociological Review*, 8 (June 1943), 279-280.

¹¹ G. H. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹² E. T. Hiller, *op. cit.*

Neither does he regard his preparations for and anxieties about the immediate and remote future as precisely a time reference as such. In the contemporaneous social situation he fills a role—or in a situation yet to arrive he expects to fill a particular role, to a considerable extent by means of behavior patterns he knows already—overtly and covertly doing whatever the role demands, for the most part: saving for a rainy day, living an ascetic puritan life in the hope of post-mortem rewards, expecting that his wife's attitudes toward him will be like his mother's attitudes toward his father, demanding from his children the sort of behavior that he believes his father demanded from him as a child, trying to operate his business in accordance with "sound business practices," behaving toward his grandchildren as grandfathers are "supposed" to behave.

But the modern, complex world moves on and often leaves the individual behind, psychologically. The family and community come no longer to encompass the personality,¹³ new types of social controls are invented to deal with the expanded world,¹⁴ the friend comes to be defined as the enemy, the person's groups achieve new statuses, values change. Specifically, referring to the examples given above, spending begins to replace thrift as a virtue, puritan ideals are superseded by hedonistic ideals, the woman he marries turns out to believe that the domestic life is an unworthy role for the "modern woman," "sound business practices" are replaced by other and more "modern" controlling principles, the psychologists revolutionize methods of child training, a new conception of grandfather appears. Thus this individual, whose behavior tendencies and expectancies have already taken shape, finds that the situations and group alignments he prepared for are different when he actually experiences them; that the others with whom he now interacts behave in unexpected ways. The situation that faces him threatens his self-esteem, or sense of ego-security. With whatever aid he can get from his fellows he is

required to construct the bulk of his specific anticipatory responses *de novo* to meet the unexpected elements in the situations.

The tensions produced by his non-adjustive or "faulty" time perspectives are reduced by whatever means may be available; it is possible for some men to reconstruct their philosophies or guiding value systems by consciously rational mental processes, but for the most part the tensions remain unreduced or are reduced by naive extemporizations or by compensations and rationalizations supplied by the group.¹⁵ Many persons use such responses as nostalgia for the past social arrangements, general non-adjustive reactions of the type characterized by "cynical" attitudes, a paranoid approach to the newly emerging arrangements, "nervousness," suicide, or other means of withdrawing from the situation.

IV

If the elements of a social-interactional theory of personality development that relate to the time reference of the personality are singled out and considered separately, as above, a conception can be derived of the relation between the time reference of the personality in action and the processes of change in the system of social relationships. This conception may be summarized somewhat as follows: the individual undergoes preparation in advance for social participation; because of the presence of defects in the predictive elements of this socialization process, his personality at any given time will usually contain a residue of responses acquired from previous experiences that have lost their adjustive utility, or that interfere with any extemporized efforts to reach adjustment in the newly emerging situation. In other words, there exists a condition of "lag" within the personality which is indicated by the inappropriateness as adjustive mechanisms, in the presence of

¹³ Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (New York, 1938), chap. 7; Ferdinand Tönnies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, translated and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis (New York, 1940), pp. 263-265.

¹⁴ For an example in the world of international commerce see Walton Hamilton, "The Strange Case of Sterling Products," *Harper's Magazine*, 186 (January 1943), 123-132.

¹⁵ Of course these two—consciously rational thinking and rationalization—are not the only possible modes of adaptation to the novel elements of a situation. The mode of adaptation utilized would depend on whether the individual defined the situation as a threat to his ego, and this definition itself would reflect the individual's general ego-security and feeling of personal autonomy. This consideration only reinforces the argument since ego-security and independence as well as other attributes of the individual's adjustment technique have their origin in experiences in social groups. See Theodore M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change* (New York, 1943), pp. 156-157.

any social situation, of a considerable fraction of the responses built up through social relationships during the individual's earlier career of experience. In Dr. Frank's frame of reference, the role, which ideally would have a forward reference based upon reasonably accurate predictions of the future requirements of the role, actually does have a predominant backward reference that increases in scope as the immediately "present" situations out of which the role was constructed recede into the past. The modicum of attitudes contained in the role that are preparatory for the future derive less from thoughtful consideration of what the future may be like and more from the group's and the individual's conception of the future derived largely out of interpretations of the past.¹⁶

To escape this dilemma Dr. Frank suggests that the group develop and present to the individual a logically and "humanly" valid time perspective. However, there are practical difficulties in the way of achieving a time perspective for the group that, when incorporated in the individual's role, will give him a freedom that "means that the present is neither dominated by the past nor sacrificed to the future."¹⁷ These difficulties arise out of the very process of acquiring a role, which role, on being now or later translated into activity is revealed as characterized if not dominated by anachronistic features, in the light of the changed societal and cultural situation. This is unavoidable because the group expects and insists that the individual shall receive advance preparation for filling future roles and supplies therefor a multitude of opportunities, officially described as "for the individual's future good" but perforce taking little account of the future nature of the group itself. It is not quite enough, then, for the group to supply a changed conception of man's place in the cosmos, and otherwise provide

living is not forever sacrificed to something that denies life.¹⁸

Of course if the group could provide for everyone a forwardly oriented perspective such as Frank describes it would materially aid the adjustment of the individual to his present world, if the other members of the group also operate in terms of it. But as long as societal processes continue—differentiation, competition, conflict, acculturation—any time perspective that might be achieved by the individual, if tied to any existing system of relationships or even to any socially-provided conception of what is a valid time perspective, would have to be recast continuously to take account of the novel elements introduced by changes in the internal and external relations of the group.¹⁹ In any case we would need to know first whether the individual's supposed "drive for security" can be met by widespread substitution of confidence in a more or less specific future, attractively presented, in place of the more common nostalgia for the past in the face of an uncomfortable present. It may turn out that for life in modern society the individual will find greater promise of continuing ego-security in a confidence in his capacity to adjust to the elements of the future as they emerge—whatever they may be, short of catastrophe—instead of in a conception of what the future will be, based on even the best predictions that our leaders can make.²⁰ In any event, no expert could predict the detailed personal interaction novelties that will accompany the broad-scale changes, and it is precisely in this area that lie the greatest potentialities for personally frustrating experiences.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

¹⁹ The lesson taught by the fate of the millennial sects of the nineteenth century in America is quite to the point here. See, for example, Herbert W. Schneider and George Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim* (New York, 1942), especially chap. X.

²⁰ This latter suggestion receives some support from objective data collected by Theodore M. Newcomb, considering that "confidence in one's capacity to adjust," as used above, is an adjustment mechanism that has many component elements. In analyzing a shift of student attitudes toward adjustment with a non-conservative college community, Newcomb concludes that "Certain aspects of the kinds of social change occurring in the America of the late 1930's tended to be accepted by Bennington students characterized by independence from their parents, sense of personal adequacy in social relations, and modifiability of habits of achieving their goals. . . ." *Op. cit.*, p. 176.

... a time perspective that has a "vital sensibility," to use Ortega y Gasset's term, wherein a sufficiently long future focus will give meaning and significance and tension to our lives, because our present endeavors point to a constantly receding but ever inviting future; but this focus must be humanly significant so that

¹⁶ Theodore M. Newcomb has made observations in his study of roles chosen by members of a college community which give some support to the thesis advanced here. *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁷ L. K. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

FOREIGN AREA STUDY (ASTP) AS AN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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THE Foreign Area and Language courses sponsored by the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) have come to an end, and it seems therefore proper to evaluate their wider significance. The ASTP brought to a number of campuses an élite of enlisted men, of a type that we are likely to see back on the campuses once the war is over. Furthermore, need for Foreign Area instruction suggested a regional approach to the study of social phenomena which may well serve as a model for the regular curriculum.

The work at Vanderbilt University began July 12, 1943, with 96 students and ended March 25, 1944, with 60 students. Twenty of the best students in the German project were transferred on January 10, 1944, ten more of both the German and the French projects on March 2. There were minor fluctuations throughout the course. The men came from different parts of the United States, the majority, however, from the East (New York, Pennsylvania, New England), and Slavic, Jewish, Irish, and German names—in that sequence—abounded on the list. Some of them

had spent their youth in Europe, some had travelled there; altogether, fifteen of the students had some amount of foreign experience, ranging from four months to twenty-seven years.

The educational background of the students varied widely. We have the data on 82 of them, 80 of whom had attended college. But 4 had only one year, 13 two years, 8 three years of college experience; 29 had completed a four-year college course, and 16 had done graduate work or attained professional degrees. It would not be too far from the truth to say that just about half of the students had academic qualification. The rest were either too young to have completed their studies or else had gone into some line of business. However, most of them had had one or more background courses in the social sciences: 60 in economics; 47 in political science; 39 in sociology; 22 in geography; 10 in anthropology.

The differentiation in background led to the establishment of an advanced and a more general section within both the German and the French language and area projects. On the whole, however, the men were of superior mental calibre and maturity of outlook. A few in the general sections were somewhat indifferent, but most of them were seriously concerned with their studies and analyses as well as with implications for the war and postwar issues.

The men were under military control at all times so that the faculty were relieved of such

* The experience we are drawing upon in this paper has been gained in the French and German area project of the ASTP at Vanderbilt University. Dr. Hayes has participated in the project in the first two terms, while Dr. Cahnman, apart from two weeks of previous lecturing, took over the sociological part of the program in the third term.

mechanics as roll calls. But the teaching situation was utterly free. The military authorities had all their dealings with the university administration and put the educational program entirely in the hands of the staff. Of course, the hours allotted to each phase of the curriculum and the general titles and courses in the curriculum were set up and authorized by the army. Yet, the content, method of instruction, examinations, and the like were the responsibility of the staff exclusively. A considerable amount of formal testing was done and reports of class standing were made to the army, but class standing was determined by performance or production rather than by formal testing. We regard this as one of the virtues of the program.

The program was devised, more or less, on the spur of the moment and little instruction came from government or army officials at any time. We were told to use our imagination. In the first term, area studies together with the study of historical backgrounds occupied 16 teaching hours, language only 13. However, from the second term on, it became clear that the language project was to take first place and that only supplementary emphasis was to be laid on the area project, which is the proper field of the sociologist. The fact that we are sociologists notwithstanding, we must confess that we feel this procedure to have been in order. The incident that sociology in America has developed largely as a parochial enterprise has dimmed the recognition among sociologists of the fact that participant or non-participant observation of, and sympathetic insight in, the workings of a civilization requires language as a prime tool. This was true in classical education, both in Europe and in China. Yet, it is equally true that the tool of language is likely to have a blunt edge if it consists of nothing but a superficial proficiency in everyday speech or in the reading of selected texts. Language, or shall we say speech, far from being an agglomeration of mere words, reveals to the trained student of society and culture the character of a civilization in its entirety.

Instruction in the social sciences habitually follows a logical rather than a physical classification, that is to say we are used to classify according to isolated and generalized concepts rather than according to space and time where the phenomena are actually found.¹ Thus, we offer courses on the

family or on race relations without, in most instances, considering the economic, political, religious, and other institutional influences which condition family life and race relations within the framework of a given society; even more so, without considering society as a whole. The lecturer assumes that knowledge about these complementary fields has been acquired by the student in separate courses. This would be in order if it were not for the fact that the lecturer hardly has concerned himself with these complementary fields after graduation and seldom, if ever, refers to them during his lectures. As to society as a whole, it simply seems not to exist.²

Surely, this system of instruction has its merits and its necessities. It initiates the student into the techniques of systematic and conceptual thinking. But all too frequently it stops short of application and thus remains frigid, infertile, unrelated to the actualities of social life. Accordingly, when not abstraction but application is required of the sociologist, as it was in the case of the ASTP, this system breaks down instantaneously. The army does not want its soldiers to be acquainted with the problems of population, stratification, labor, and the family as such but with all these as part and parcel of an entire civilization. Hence, it may be said that the tested techniques of the historian and the geographer invaded the instruction offered by sociologists if, indeed, we are not to regard social anthropology as the crowning and

of *Current Thought in the Light of the Past*. (Lancaster, Pa. 1939: Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXIX, nos. 3 and 4), p. 134. Cf. likewise Werner J. Cahnman, "The Concept of Raum and the Theory of Regionalism", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, No. 5 (Oct. 1944), 455-462, and the literature mentioned there.

² Among the rare examples to the contrary are: Eugene Diesel, *Germany and the Germans* (New York, 1931); Paul Joachimsen, *Zur historischen Psychologie des deutschen Staatsgedanken's* (*Die Dioskuren, Jahrbuch für Geisteswissenschaften*, I, Munich, 1922); Étienne Fournol, *Les Nations Romantiques* (Paris, 1931); André Siegfried, *France, A Study in Nationality* (New Haven, 1930); Friedrich Sieburg, *Who Are These French? A German Study of France in the Modern World*, ed. Allan Harris (New York, 1932); Salvador de Madariaga, *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards. An Essay in Comparative Psychology* (London, 1927); James Bryce, *South America: Observations and Impressions* (New York, 1912); Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (New York, 1942).

¹ Cf. Immanuel Kant's *Physische Geographie*, I, 4, ed. E. T. Rink (Koenigsberg 1804), quoted from Richard Hartshorne, *The Nature of Geography, A Critical Survey*

integrative field of sociological studies. In that case, we could say that the techniques of the social anthropologist have been the only sociological techniques which proved their applicability in the teaching situation of the ASTP. This, however, is true only up to a point, as will be seen instantly.

The social anthropologist studies aboriginal, pre-literate, and folk-cultures in their functional and configurational interrelationships, even if his interest is centered around a specific institution. If he were to study this specific institution according to the principles of isolation and generalization exclusively, he would be unable to comprehend it in the first place and his generalization, therefore, would become unrelated to any factual phenomenon. This is not different in our involved, literate, and urbanized societies, only that we tend to believe, with regard to them, that we can take the central phenomenon of such a society, namely the structure of the society as a whole, for granted.

European societies, such as the ones that were to be studied in the ASTP at Vanderbilt University, are a case in point. Although they are supposedly nothing but appendages to the larger industrialized emporium of modern civilization, they are, upon closer investigation, not only sufficiently differentiated among themselves but also so strikingly different from the white man's country in America that they must be studied as cultures and subcultures in their own right. It can be granted that this represents much more complex a task than the anthropological study of a tribe or a village; but it should also be granted that the task is not more complex than the comprehensive study of classical antiquity to which many of us were exposed when we were young. The educational significance of the ASTP may well be compared to these studies. Here, as there, a combination of approaches is required: the educator and research worker may well draw upon the method of anthropology but, at the same time, he has to enlarge upon it so as to cope with a more inclusive reality. In brief, the new challenge can only be met by an integrating effort of all the social sciences.

On this point of our deliberation, it becomes quite evident why instruction in the area project was bound to follow a regional bent. Of course, as far as language is concerned, the nation rather than the region is the unit of observation.³ We

³ Cf. Svend Riemer, "Individual and National Psychology: A Problem in the Army Area Study," *Social Forces*, 22: 3 (March, 1944), 256-261.

will return to this idea later. With regard to culture in a more specific sense, however, the region is the natural and traditional unit. This is obvious enough in the American South, but it is even more obvious in older civilizations such as Germany and France. The French revolution has never completely succeeded in obliterating regional differentiations in France, while in pre-Hitler Germany (not to speak of Italy) these differentiations were still decisive. They are not eradicated even today—a fact, by the way, which makes most of the current talk about the attitude of "the" German people toward some headline-making topics appear rather beside the point.

Accordingly, the productive work of the students was centered around a detailed regional analysis. An instruction sheet was issued which brought each man to his choice of a particular region and contained the instruction for working the problem out.⁴ According to this instruction sheet, the suggested elements of each report were to be geographical and historical orientation, language (or languages), races and culture groups, population, agriculture and industry, finance, communication and transportation, political organization,⁵ educational system, religion and religious organization, health and welfare, family and class structure, recreation, and finally village and community life. To all this, sub-items were enumerated. Moreover, the tentative character of these suggested "elements" was stressed in the sheet and it was pointed out that some desirable data may not be found available while, on the other hand, significant aspects of the total life of the people which could possibly be found and utilized may have been omitted. It was to be understood that the student was to make an organic report about his discoveries, including facets which were not suggested in the sheet, and, in turn, that many items which were listed may be left out. The student was encouraged to organize the material

⁴ Student assignment sheet for this Area Study may be secured from the authors.

⁵ To our knowledge, only two sociologically fully satisfactory descriptions of the structure of political parties in France and in Germany are in evidence, both of them in a regional setting: André Siegfried, *Tableau Politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1913), and Rudolf Heberle, "The Political Movements among the Rural People in Schleswig-Holstein, 1918-1932," *The Journal of Politics*, 5: 1, 2 (Feb. and May, 1943), 3-26, 115-141.

according to his best judgment. (Mark the departure from the textbook type of instruction.)

Choices of areas were made through consultation with instructors. They were based upon experience (in the case of European travel or descent); general knowledge about, and interest in, the selected area; language assignment; and various other factors. The men liked the specific character of the work and requested extension of library hours. It is safe to say that they found in this individual area study a basis for integrating all the other work which they did.

Some of the student projects were thought to be of sufficient significance for binding. Among these are reports on The Seine Department, Bordeaux and its Environs, Normandy, Life and Land of Burgundy, Alsace-Lorraine, French Flanders, The Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, The Ruhr Valley, Saxony, Baden, Württemberg, Schleswig-Holstein, East Prussia—Home of the Junker, Tyrol and Vorarlberg, The Province of Drava (Dravska Banovina), Hungary—The Country and its People, Czecho-Slovakia, and Lithuania. As can be seen from this list (which could be extended), East-Central European regional studies were admitted along with French and German ones, partly because of the close economic and cultural ties of some of these eastern regions with Germany, partly because a number of the men were of East-European parentage and we were loath to frustrate their desire to investigate their own background.

At the time the men were working on their particular area assignments, they had lectures on the geography, history, population structure, labor conditions, and the political and social ideologies of Europe. On this occasion, we drew upon the intimate knowledge of some of the students who came from Europe or had been travelling in Europe to describe the folk-life in terms of day to day routine and seasonal activities including fairs, festivals, pageants, and the like. We also called in members of the staff and local citizens who had administrative responsibilities in European towns and local areas during the first world war. These two techniques, along with movies which we offered, contributed to insight into customs and values.

The entire staff had a few meetings in which the integrated nature of all work was discussed. Also, the entire staff, including geographers, historians, political scientists, economists, sociologists, and linguists, met with the students at frequent intervals. The discussion which resulted provided

consultant services from all the social science staff at one place; and these services frequently amounted to informal social science seminars. All this has been true for the first two terms; in the third term, the integrational effort was centered in the general area discussion (lectures plus quiz sessions) which were taken care of by one teacher. It was then that an attempt was made to build upon the regional knowledge which had been acquired previously and to widen it into a vision of the national character of France and Germany respectively. This was attempted partly by means of a lecture series on political and social movements, culminating in a discussion of the Nazi party, partly by means of particular literary assignments. According to the technique which was first introduced into social science teaching in this country by the late Professor Robert E. Park, each student was requested to read at least one particular French or German novel of some significance and to report on the social setting to which this novel referred. Some of the novels and autobiographies, such as Oscar Maria Graf's, *Life of My Mother* and Jacob Wassermann's, *My Way as German and Jew* were available only in translation, but most of them could be secured in the original. Some of the men who hardly had come across a decent novel in English, found themselves exposed to "*Die Buddenbrooks*," "*Der Untertan*," "*Der Hauptmann von Koeppenick*," "*Berlin-Alexanderplatz*," "*Kleiner Mann-Was Nun?*," "*Les Déracinés*," "*Les Oberlés*," "*Tartarin de Tarascon*," "*Germinal*," "*Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*," "*Père Goriot*," and "*L'Éducation Sentimentale*." In such a way language and area training were brought into mutual relationship and a concrete picture of a civilization, a region, a class, a period emerged in the process. There was cross-fertilization in many ways. Not only was language study crowned by area study, but similarly the acquaintance with a national culture, transmitted by language, was enriched by a glimpse into their regional, religious, and social (class) diversifications. The techniques of comparison and perspective were not neglected and frequent allusion was made to parallel developments in the United States. The unity of European as against American civilization stood out clearly, and also the differentiation within continental Europe between French and German thought, but in each particular discussion we ended inevitably with a recognition of the reality of closer associations within the larger national units. We were quite sure that "les

forces intermédiaires" (social groupings between the individual and the state) had not been killed by the French revolution; we were not so sure, however, of what we would be up against in the aftermath of Hitler's so much more radical movement.

Naturally, toward the end of the third term, the discussions wandered off, at times, into the uncertain realm of war aims and postwar reconstruction. It was a pleasure to see how wishful thinking gradually gave way to an ability to face unpleasant facts. Slowly, it was realized that conflict patterns must be understood in order to be overcome. Sometimes we asked ourselves whether the critical process would not reach the point where it might endanger military morale. Many of the men assured us that the opposite was true. We attribute this to the fact that we did not limit ourselves to critical analysis only, but tried to show constructive opportunities as well.

Many conclusions may be drawn from our experience in the ASTP at Vanderbilt University. We would, however, like to stress two of them which we herewith put to the consideration of social scientists in general and our fellow sociologists in particular.

First of all, we feel that the lectures and seminars in the ASTP represented a stimulating experimental situation in general social science education inasmuch as they provided an unprecedented experience in integration. In the area study, primary emphasis was placed on the human society, not as a specialized subject but as it presents itself in an actual life situation. All the social sciences, combined with the functional study of languages, were brought together in order to promote a comprehensive understanding of a particular region, country, nation, or civilization.

This indicates that integrative, that is to say regional, courses in the social sciences should accompany and follow rather than, at best, precede specialization. We agree with Professor Whitney Griswold, organizer and director of the Foreign Area studies at Yale University, that considerations such as these "may well cast the shadow before the coming event of a change in our university curricula."⁶

Our conclusion as to the field of sociology proper is but an elaboration upon these more general findings. Sociology cannot continue as a patchwork science of incidentally assembled social problems. We think that in the wake of the educational movement which we have sketched as gathering momentum from the experience gained in the ASTP, a sustained effort should be made to supplement our habitual courses in pure sociology with additional courses in applied sociology, almost all of which could best be delivered on a regional basis. There is no reason why our postwar curricula should not contain courses on the American South, the Middle West, the New York Metropolitan and the Great Lakes regions, on Latin America, Africa, Europe, the British Empire, Russia, the Mediterranean area, the Near, Middle and Far East, and on other topics of a similar integrated nature. Of course, this poses the question of teacher training rather acutely. But, perhaps, if some home-front sociologists (and other social scientists) were to step down for a while after the war is over and leave the platform to the élite of returning service men, no lasting harm would be done to enrolment in our courses and to the development of our science.

⁶ Quoted from Charles R. Walker, "Yale Tomorrow," *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1944), pp. 90-96.

1944 ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS OF THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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CLASS AND REGIONAL SELECTION IN FATAL CASUALTIES OF THE FIRST 18-24 MONTHS OF WORLD WAR II*

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AND

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THIS report comprises two studies dealing with the selective nature of World War II during the first 18-24 months. One study deals with the question whether or not there was a class bias in the selection, the other with the question whether or not there was a regional selection.

I. IS WAR DYSTHENIC? I.E., IS THERE A CLASS BIAS IN THE SELECTION OF FATAL CASUALTIES?

Problem. Most studies on the selective nature of war deal with it from a eugenic point of view. The question is usually stated in some such terms as: Do certain genetic strains contribute more than their share in war? If so, and if these strains are superior, war is obviously dysgenic.¹ A respectable literature has developed on this point.² Such studies, however, usually make certain genetic assumptions. For example, it is assumed that the superiority of the men selected for service is always genetic. It is, of course, true that the flower of the land is sent to war, obvious misfits being weeded out. But to just what extent the misfits are such by genetic constitution is, on the basis of present data, indeterminable.

The present study makes no assumptions about the genetic quality of the fatal casualties of war. It merely asks the question: Are certain social classes paying more for the war in terms of fatal casualties than others? The implication is that war is dysthenic if classes which would provide a more favorable environment for children contribute more to the war in terms of fatal casualties than

classes which would provide a less favorable environment. The indexes of class used here are social, namely economic status as measured by median rent and education as measured by median years of schooling.

Sources of Data. A list of all the fatal casualties in the city of St. Louis during the first two years of the war, December, 1942 through January 1944, was compiled from the list published in *Life* magazine, July 5, 1943, and the monthly reports published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.³ The listing was presumably complete and whatever deficiencies or incompleteness of data there were are not, presumably, of a nature to affect the results. There is no reason to believe, that is, that the fatal casualties not reported would tend to be of any one class more than of another.

For the background data to be used in analyzing these figures, the booklet *Population and Housing*⁴ was used. This census publication includes statistical data for census tracts in St. Louis. The background data used were: the number of men in each tract between the ages of 20 and 40, the median rent in each tract, and the median education in each tract. The reason for considering only the men between 20 and 40 is that this is the age group which is most highly represented in the armed services. The median rent used was the contract or estimated monthly rent. The median education used was that of the total population for each tract 25 years and over.

Method. On a large map of St. Louis the city was divided into its 128 tracts. The addresses of the fatal casualties, determined from the *St. Louis Dispatch* lists referred to above, were located in the tracts to which they belonged. The percentage of all the fatal casualties which were thus

* This study was made in a research course under the direction of Dr. Jessie Bernard.

¹ It has been argued that inasmuch as the casualties in recent wars in the United States have been relatively light, the selective nature of war, although in the direction of a dysgenic nature, is not great enough to modify the quality of the population. See W. F. Ogburn, *War, Babies, and the Future* (Public Affairs Pamphlet, #83, 1943), p. 11.

² The outstanding writer in this field is D. S. Jordan. See his *War and the Breed* (1915).

³ We would like to thank the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* for their kind cooperation in this connection.

⁴ *Population and Housing*, Statistics for Census Tracts, St. Louis, Mo. and Adjacent Area, Prepared under the Supervision of Dr. Leon E. Truesdell, Chief Statistician for Population (United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1942).

found to fall in each tract was computed, as well as the percentage of all men 20 to 40 who lived in each tract. These two sets of data were correlated to determine whether the fatal casualties were distributed by tracts the same way as young men were distributed. If no bias existed in the selection of fatal casualties, a high correlation should exist between the proportion of young men and the proportion of fatal casualties.

In addition to computing the proportion of the fatal casualties found in each tract, the ratio of

this tract has a higher proportion of fatal casualties than of young men. In correlating the fatal casualties with the indexes of class—median education and median rent—this ratio was used rather than the proportion of fatal casualties, in order to eliminate the effect of differences in size of tract populations.

Results. In general, as shown in Figure 1, there was a tendency for tracts to show a ratio of fatal casualties to young men approximating 1.00, indicating that as a whole, actual casualties tended to

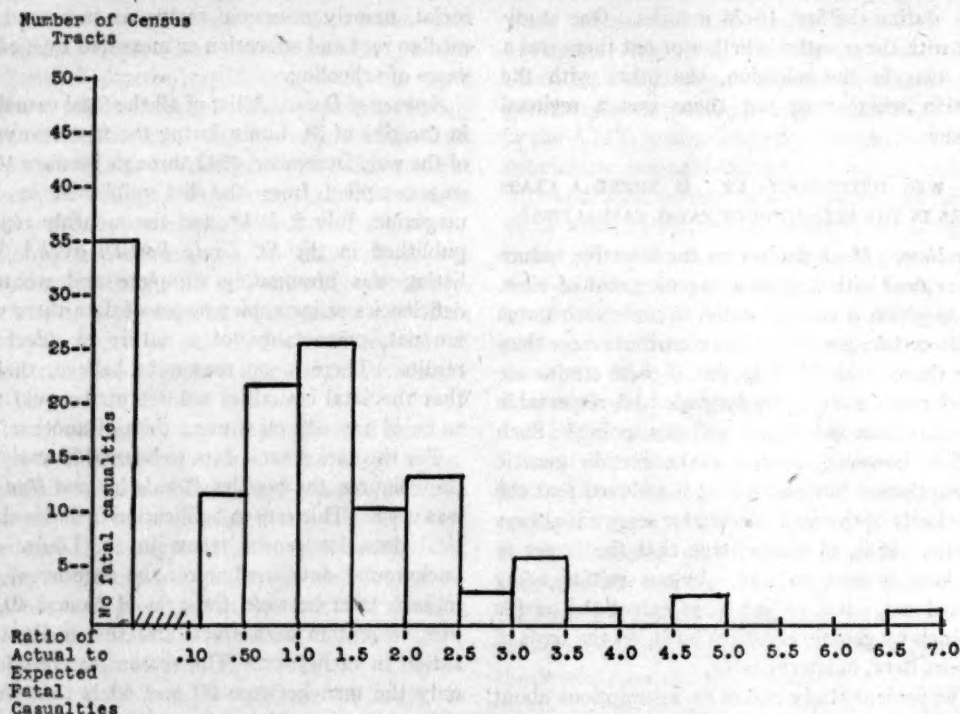


FIG. 1. DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS TRACTS ACCORDING TO RATIO OF FATAL CASUALTIES TO EXPECTED FATAL CASUALTIES

the expected to the actual number of fatal casualties was also computed for each tract. This was done as follows. The proportion of all the fatal casualties found in each tract was divided by the proportion of all the young men in each tract. If the casualties were on a chance basis, the ratio would be 1.00. That is, the proportion of fatal casualties would equal the proportion of young men. This would show an absence of a class bias. A ratio of less than 1.00 means that this particular tract shows—for whatever reason—a lower proportion of fatal casualties than of young men. Conversely, a ratio of more than 1.00 shows that

be in the expected proportion. In those cases where the ratio deviated widely from 1.00 the bias could usually be explained in terms either of a large Negro population (7 of the 35 census tracts with no casualties had 48 percent or more Negro population) or a small total population. Thus the average number of men 20 to 40 in the predominantly white census tracts which had no fatal casualties was 574, in the census tracts which had twice as many fatal casualties as to be expected or more, on the basis of the proportion of young men, the average number was 740; while in the city as a whole, it was 1023. In other words,

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF FATAL CASUALTIES DURING FIRST 18 MONTHS OF WORLD WAR II BY STATES, AND RELATION TO
DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALES AND ADULT MALES 18-40

| | PERCENT OF FATAL CASUALTIES (a) | PERCENT OF TOTAL ADULT MALES (b) | PERCENT OF TOTAL WHITE MALES 20-40 (c) | RATIO FATAL CASUALTIES TO TOTAL ADULT MALE POPULATION (a/b) | RATIO FATAL CASUALTIES TO TOTAL WHITE MALES 20-40 (a/c) |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| UNITED STATES..... | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% | — | — |
| NORTHEAST | | | | | |
| Maine..... | .50 | .64 | .64 | .78 | .78 |
| N. H..... | .33 | .37 | .39 | .89 | .85 |
| Vt..... | .21 | .27 | .27 | .78 | .78 |
| Mass..... | 3.01 | 3.18 | 3.38 | .94 | .89 |
| R. I..... | .51 | .52 | .57 | .98 | .89 |
| Conn..... | 1.09 | 1.28 | 1.45 | .85 | .75 |
| N. Y..... | 7.95 | 10.12 | 11.30 | .79 | .70 |
| N. J..... | 2.30 | 3.13 | 3.47 | .73 | .66 |
| Pa..... | 5.09 | 7.49 | 7.98 | .68 | .64 |
| Del..... | .14 | .20 | .20 | .70 | .70 |
| Md..... | .94 | 1.08 | 1.37 | .87 | .69 |
| D. C..... | .55 | .48 | .48 | 1.15 | 1.15 |
| W. Va..... | 1.34 | 1.46 | 1.47 | .92 | .91 |
| SOUTHEAST | | | | | |
| Va..... | 1.70 | 2.04 | 1.77 | .83 | .96 |
| N. C..... | 1.95 | 2.68 | 2.19 | .73 | .89 |
| S. C..... | .94 | 1.41 | .93 | .67 | 1.01 |
| Ga..... | 1.48 | 2.32 | 1.77 | .64 | .84 |
| Fla..... | 1.73 | 1.42 | 1.17 | 1.22 | 1.48 |
| Ky..... | 2.34 | 2.17 | .78 | 1.08 | 3.00 |
| Tenn..... | 1.75 | 2.18 | 1.99 | .80 | .88 |
| Ala..... | 1.60 | 2.10 | 1.02 | .76 | 1.57 |
| Miss..... | .90 | 1.64 | .92 | .55 | .98 |
| Ark..... | .96 | 1.48 | 1.17 | .65 | .82 |
| La..... | 1.47 | 1.77 | 1.33 | .83 | 1.11 |
| SOUTHWEST | | | | | |
| Okla..... | 1.73 | 1.78 | 1.73 | .97 | 1.00 |
| Texas..... | 5.02 | 4.87 | 4.80 | 1.03 | 1.04 |
| N. M..... | .68 | .41 | .41 | 1.66 | 1.66 |
| Ariz..... | .49 | .39 | .32 | 1.26 | 1.53 |
| MIDDLE STATES | | | | | |
| Ohio..... | 4.83 | 5.23 | 5.45 | .92 | .89 |
| Ind..... | 2.40 | 2.61 | 2.07 | .92 | 1.16 |
| Ill..... | 5.82 | 5.99 | 6.53 | .97 | .89 |
| Mich..... | 4.81 | 4.07 | 4.36 | 1.18 | 1.10 |
| Wis..... | 3.03 | 2.42 | 2.57 | 1.25 | 1.18 |
| Minn..... | 2.72 | 2.16 | 2.30 | 1.26 | 1.18 |
| Iowa..... | 3.21 | 1.93 | 1.99 | 1.66 | 1.61 |
| Mo..... | 2.86 | 2.84 | 3.37 | 1.01 | .85 |

Source: Column (a): *Life Magazine*, July 5, 1943. Columns (b) and (c), *United States Census*, 1940.

TABLE 1—Continued

| | PERCENT OF FATAL CASUALTIES | PERCENT OF TOTAL ADULT MALES | PERCENT OF TOTAL WHITE MALES 20-40 | RATIO FATAL CASUALTIES TO TOTAL ADULT MALE POPULATION | RATIO FATAL CASUALTIES TO TOTAL WHITE MALES 20-40 |
|------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|--|
| | (a) | (b) | (c) | (a/b) | (a/c) |
| NORTHWEST | | | | | |
| N. D..... | 1.12 | .50 | .52 | 2.60 | 2.15 |
| S. D..... | .55 | .50 | .49 | 1.10 | 1.12 |
| Neb..... | 1.43 | 1.07 | 1.02 | 1.34 | 1.40 |
| Kan..... | 1.27 | 1.37 | 1.35 | .93 | .94 |
| Mont..... | .79 | .45 | .47 | 1.75 | 1.70 |
| Idaho..... | .68 | .41 | .45 | 1.66 | 1.51 |
| Wy..... | .31 | .20 | .23 | 1.55 | 1.35 |
| Colo..... | 1.31 | .86 | .87 | 1.52 | 1.51 |
| Utah..... | .56 | .42 | .44 | 1.33 | 1.27 |
| FAR WEST | | | | | |
| Nev..... | .11 | .09 | .10 | 1.22 | 1.10 |
| Wash..... | 2.44 | 1.37 | 1.49 | 1.78 | 1.64 |
| Ore..... | 1.40 | .85 | .91 | 1.65 | 1.54 |
| Calif..... | 9.47 | 5.32 | 6.11 | 1.78 | 1.55 |

when the total population of young men was small, chance variations could throw the ratio of expected to actual fatal casualties completely out of line.

Another way to demonstrate that fatal casualties tended in general to be proportionate to size of population of young men is to correlate the proportion of fatal casualties which fell in each tract with the proportion of young men who lived in each tract. The correlation between these two sets of data was $+ .40$.⁵ Although this is not a perfect relationship by any means, it is high enough to show the general trend.

Now we ask the question, were the factors which prevented a perfect correlation between fatal casualties and young men in each tract of a class nature? A correlation of $+ .40$ explains quite a bit, but not everything. Can the unexplained part be attributed to a class bias? The answer to this question, on the basis of the indexes of class here used, namely economic status as measured by median rent and education as measured by median years of schooling, is a clear-cut no. The correlations between the ratio of the expected to the actual number of casualties in each tract and median education and median rent were .06

⁵ The data here used were not considered as a sample but as a complete universe in themselves, the universe being the number of fatal casualties in St. Louis during the first two years of the war. If considered as a sample of the entire universe of casualties, the standard error, .09 in this case, would have been presented.

and .12 respectively. Whatever the factors were which determined the distribution of fatal casualties, therefore, they were clearly not of a class nature.

Conclusion. Although fatal casualties in St. Louis during the first two years of the war were not distributed by census tracts solely in proportion to the size of the male population 20 to 40 years of age, the discrepancies between the proportion of fatal casualties and proportion of young men in each tract cannot be attributed to a class bias. No one class, as measured by economic status or by education, contributed more than its share to the war in terms of fatal casualties. The present war, so far as St. Louis is concerned, was not a "class war" in this sense during the time covered by the study here reported.

II. IS THERE A REGIONAL BIAS IN THE SELECTION OF FATAL CASUALTIES? FATAL CASUALTIES BY STATES DURING THE FIRST EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF WORLD WAR II

Problem. A second question raised in the present study was this: Is the number of fatal casualties of the first eighteen months of the war for each of the forty-eight states and the District of Columbia proportionate to the number of men living in the state?

Sources of Data. A list of all the fatal casualties for each state, including the District of Columbia, during the first eighteen months of the war was

obtained from *Life* magazine for July 5, 1943. Background data were obtained from the *United States Census* for 1940. The data from this source included the number of men in each state and the number of white men between the ages of 20 and 40 in each state.

Method. The percentage of all the fatal casualties which lived in each state was computed, as well as the percentage of all men in the United States who lived in each state, and the percentage of all white men 20-40 who lived in each state.

In addition, a procedure similar to that described in Part I of this study was followed through to determine whether there was any geographical peculiarity in the distribution of fatal casualties. The ratio between the proportion of men and the proportion of fatal casualties was computed for each state. If the fatal casualties were found to be proportionate to the number of men, the ratio of these two sets of figures for each state would be approximately 1.00. A ratio of 1.00 shows that the state has exactly the proportion of fatal casualties to be expected on the basis of male population, a ratio of less than 1.00 shows that the state has less than a proportionate number of fatal casualties; and a ratio of more than 1.00 shows that it has a higher than proportionate number.

Results. The (rank) correlation between the proportion of fatal casualties in each state and the proportion of the total United States male population in each state was .94. The (rank) correlation between the proportion of fatal casualties in each state and the proportion of white men

between 20 and 40 in the United States living in each state was .93. In general, then, the larger the number of men in each state the larger the number of fatal casualties.

The correlation coefficients show that fatal casualties tended to be in proportion to size of male population, but they do not show whether states above the regression line tend to concentrate in any particular area and those below the regression line in another. In order to determine whether cases above and below the regression line fell at random, geographically speaking, or showed any geographical concentrations, the ratios between fatal casualties and male population were mapped. Table 1 reveals that in general the West shows a higher proportion of fatal casualties than the East, particularly the Northeast. North Dakota and Kentucky show particularly high ratios of fatal casualties.*

The explanation for these geographical differences probably lies in the policy of the Army of using organized state militias in the early months of the war. A map of fatal casualties after the Selective Service principles began to operate on a large scale will undoubtedly show quite a different distribution.

* North Dakota contained .50 per cent of the entire male population of the United States, .52 per cent of the white male population 20-40 years of age, but 1.12 per cent of all the fatal casualties. The corresponding figures for Kentucky were: 2.17 per cent, .78 per cent, and 2.34 per cent.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE REORGANIZATION AT MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

In the reorganization of Michigan State College into the Basic College with its seven departments, which offer comprehensive core courses for freshmen and sophomores, and its seven schools for juniors, seniors, and graduate students, teaching posts are held by sociologists in four departments and in the newly established Institute of Foreign Studies.

The teaching staff of the original Department of Sociology has been divided between the newly organized School of Science and Art and School of Business and Public Service. E. M. Banzet, D. L. Gibson, C. R. Hoffer, Paul Honigsheim, J. F. Thaden and C. R. Watts are members of the newly constituted Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the School of Science and Art. C. P. Loomis, formerly head of the Division of Extension and Training, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the USDA is head of this Department. E. B. Harper, former head of the Department of Sociology, is now head of the new Department of Social Service in the School of Business and Public Service. The Departments of the School of Science and Art and School of Business and Public Service offer the advanced training to students who have spent their first two years in the Basic College and have passed the required comprehensive examinations or who demonstrate that they meet specified requirements by passing specially arranged examinations. Members of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology work in the School of Agriculture receiving funds for research from the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Sociologists are represented in two of the Departments of the Basic College. The head of the Department of Effective Living is L. A. Haak formerly head of the Sociology Department of the University of Tulsa. Austin Vander Slice, former head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Arkansas, is a member of the Department of Social Science. Arrangements are planned for cooperative research extension and teaching by the Departments of Effective Living and Social Science, respectively, in the Basic College and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the School of Science and Art. E. M. Banzet is now giving half time to the Department of Social Science in the Basic College.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

SOME CONCEPTS OF FARM LABOR AVAILABILITY*

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INTRODUCTION

IN THE production of the essential war commodity, food, farm labor has become one of the most critical factors. The farmers' labor supply has been depleted by the armed forces and by the call to industry. Hence, it is becoming increasingly necessary to examine the farm labor situation periodically to determine if the supply of labor or available labor supply is adequate to meet production at a given level.

Most of the more recent reports and studies dealing with farm labor, and especially those at the national level, have merely shown the number of persons living on farms as compared with a given base period and have drawn conclusions from there out. Such studies are, if taken alone, inadequate, as are those showing the number of persons moving to and from farms. The same can be said for studies showing the number of persons actually engaged in agriculture. This is true because of the rapidly changing age and sex composition of the working farm population in the present emergency.

It is necessary, however, to be more explicit when called upon to answer the specific question: Is there enough labor in the regular labor force to obtain a given level of production?

In this paper little or no attention will be given to seasonal labor or the seasonal aspects of labor. The regular labor force is the main point of interest.

Having decided upon the necessary production, the first step is to determine the amount of labor needed to meet this requirement. This gives little difficulty, because in most states fairly reliable data are available on number of man-days of labor necessary to produce a given acre of crop or a given unit of livestock. The measure used for this purpose, man-days, is almost universally agreed upon.

So the important question and the one with which this paper deals is: How is it possible to

convert all farm workers to a measure comparable to man-days of labor needed to meet that production goal? Obviously, the labor supply must be reduced to man-days and man-equivalents. The procedure for doing this and the problems associated with it are here the main points of consideration.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

What is the available labor supply? In seeking an answer to this question, there appear to be three basic considerations which demand attention.

The first, number of hours in the working day, can be disposed of very simply. It must conform to the length day as used in obtaining the labor needed for a unit of production. A man-day is, therefore, equivalent to one adult worker employed for one 10-hour day.

The attempt to define a man-day gives rise to the second basic consideration: What is an adult worker? This must be expressed, further, in terms of an adult male-equivalent. This is important because the remaining age and sex classes must be converted or reduced to this base. Once this has been agreed upon, the problem of converting the other age and sex classes to this base can be handled with comparative facility.

Once the base has been agreed upon, the remaining classes must be converted in the proper proportions. There are at least three techniques for doing this: One, if the length of time a person expects to work on a farm during a year is available, multiply the time by the proper conversion ratio. This is simply the capacity of the worker, as measured by an adult worker, multiplied by the time the person expects to work. Second, if the age and sex composition of the working farm population is known but the time each person will work is not known, the problem is to devise a set of conversion ratios that combine time and capacity. Third, if an actual field study is being conducted the farmer may be asked to furnish the appropriate conversion ratio for each worker.

The time element mentioned above gives rise to the third basic consideration. In converting the data to male-equivalents, it is essential to decide upon the number of days in a year that make a male-equivalent year. This problem rests

* Contribution from the Department of Rural Sociology, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station. Published with the approval of the Director as Paper No. 193 of the Journal Series. Read before the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 1, 1944.

upon the matter of culture, climate, soils, and type-of-farming. All these items must be given careful attention before a decision is reached.

COMBINING BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

During the past two years, two farm labor studies have been made in North Carolina by members of the Departments of Rural Sociology and Agricultural Economics of the Agricultural Experiment Station. These studies have pointed up the important fact that the amount of labor available for farm work at a given time is greatly affected by small changes in method of computation. By varying the conversion ratios and number of working days per year, especially the latter, it is possible to arrive at very different results.

Two sets of male-equivalent conversion ratios are shown in Table 1. The first set is a combina-

persons working on the labor studies. Very little effort has been expended anywhere in attempting to measure the capacity of the various age and sex groups in the working farm population. Much careful study will have to be undertaken along these lines before such ratios are little more than mere shots in the dark.

Now another method of calculating available farm labor has arisen. The State Selective Service Board in North Carolina issued its own conversion ratios for determining the amount of manpower on farms to local Selective Service Boards; however, the local Agricultural War Boards actually furnish the data. The conversion ratios used in this system are as follows: boys 13-16 years, $\frac{1}{4}$ manpower; males 17-50 years, 1 manpower; and 51-60 years, $\frac{1}{2}$ manpower. Males under 13 years and those over 60 years are not counted as available manpower on farms.

This last set is very interesting and striking in at least one respect—there is a compulsory school law in North Carolina which specifically states that girls and boys under 14 must attend school. It is rather difficult to see how a boy of 13 years can attend school for nine months and still be equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ manpower.

The number of days in the working year for the farm worker is another important aspect of this problem. The type of farming is perhaps the greatest single determining factor but other forces must be reckoned with also. Most of the possibilities that have been suggested range from about 14 days per month or 166 days a year to a little over 28 days or 338 days per year. The figure of 20 days per month or 240 days per year has been used in both of the North Carolina studies. The very high figure of 338 days is arrived at by the State Selective Service Board by the very dubious assumption that each male-equivalent can produce 16 war units per year. Under North Carolina conditions, it takes on the average 21.1 man days to produce a war unit, so the 338 days is the result.

Attention is now turned to the problem of actually combining the elements in their various proportions. The resulting differences will be carefully noted. In the 1944 study of the farm labor situation just completed in North Carolina 833 farm operator units were visited in eleven counties and some of the results are presented below.

By using the measure of 240 days per year and by using the capacity with time given conversion factors, as presented above, it was determined that there are approximately 1,775 adult male-equiva-

TABLE 1

MAN-EQUIVALENT CONVERSION RATIOS BY AGE AND SEX, NORTH CAROLINA, 1944

| AGE | MAN-EQUIVALENT RATIOS | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------|
| | Capacity and time | | Capacity with time given | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 10-13 | .2 | .1 | .5 | .3 |
| 14-17 | .4 | .2 | .7 | .5 |
| 18-44 | 1.0 | .3 | 1.0 | .7 |
| 45-64 | .8 | .2 | .9 | .5 |
| 65 and over | .3 | .1 | .5 | .1 |

tion of time and capacity. A male 18-44 years of age is considered an adult man-equivalent. The second set of conversion factors are for capacity only, that is, the time each person expects to devote to agriculture is known. In this set, males 18-44 years of age are the base or full adult male-equivalents as in the preceding set.

On the surface, the two sets appear to be in close agreement. However, if examined closely, obvious discrepancies show up, especially in the younger age groups and more especially in those groups where children are expected to attend school.

These two sets of male-equivalent ratios are by no means perfect or final, and scientific validity is not claimed at this stage. They were, it is readily admitted, pulled out of pretty thin air, only, however, after much discussion among interested

lents on the 833 farms. However, by using the capacity and time conversion ratios for the same data and for the same number of days per year, there are approximately 1,947 male-equivalents. The set of ratios used by the Selective Service Boards for determining the available manpower also has been applied to the same data and this calculation shows only 1,428 male-equivalents. The difference between the high and low of the three methods is 519 male-equivalents. This difference amounts to 36.3 percent; that is, the capacity and time ratios applied to these data show a number of male-equivalents which is 36.3 percent greater than the number shown by using the Selective Service classification. The results obtained by using the two sets of ratios shown in Table 1 are important as the difference is 9.6 percent.

The difference of 9.6 percent is especially significant because by using the ratios for capacity with time given, it is estimated that the farmers in the state have 10 percent less labor than will be needed to meet their planned production for 1944. On the other hand, had the capacity and time conversion ratios been used, our report would show that there is on the average enough manpower available in the regular labor force to meet all needs on the basis of planned production. This line of reasoning should be carried one step further. If the 1,428 male-equivalents were used (assuming 240 days per year and this is approximately true for 1943, as 12 war units were about the average necessary for deferment) our report would show a labor deficit of 24.3 percent in the state.

Table 2 shows a detailed breakdown of the 1944 data by war units for the four major areas of the state. Because of the extreme variations in the age and sex composition of the population among these areas, even greater fluctuations are to be seen with respect to the availability of labor. For example, there is a difference of 58 percent in available labor between the highest and lowest of the three methods in the Mountain area. In fact, there is a 30 percent difference between the results obtained by using the two sets of conversion factors in Table 1. The other regions show similar variations but the differences tend to be considerably smaller.

Size of farm, as measured by the number of war units, is an important factor in determining the age and sex of the working farm population. Since this is true and as might be expected, the number of available male-equivalents within a

war unit class fluctuates violently. For example, in the war unit class under 4, there is a difference of approximately 148 percent between the number of equivalents available as determined by two of the

TABLE 2

THREE ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF MAN-EQUIVALENTS AVAILABLE FOR FARM WORK BY WAR UNITS AND FOR AREAS, NORTH CAROLINA, 1944

| WAR UNITS | STATE | AREAS WITHIN STATE | | | |
|---|---------|--------------------|---------------|-----------|----------|
| | | Tide-water | Coastal Plain | Pied-mont | Mountain |
| Man-equivalents available by using the Selective Service classification | | | | | |
| Total | 1,427.9 | 417.9 | 538.1 | 316.5 | 155.4 |
| Under 4 | 7.7 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 6.8 |
| 4- 7.9 | 27.6 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 4.6 | 19.7 |
| 8-11.9 | 58.8 | 12.5 | 7.3 | 8.7 | 30.3 |
| 12-15.9 | 80.6 | 17.6 | 21.9 | 9.8 | 31.3 |
| 16-23.9 | 239.4 | 63.3 | 64.4 | 75.2 | 36.5 |
| 24-31.9 | 186.7 | 60.3 | 59.6 | 57.8 | 9.0 |
| 32-63.9 | 428.0 | 127.4 | 154.9 | 128.9 | 16.8 |
| 64 and over | 399.1 | 134.3 | 228.3 | 31.5 | 5.0 |

Man-equivalents available by using capacity with time given conversion ratios

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Total | 1,775.3 | 512.3 | 664.7 | 409.7 | 188.6 |
| Under 4 | 9.8 | 0.9 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 8.1 |
| 4- 7.9 | 43.5 | 3.6 | 0.9 | 10.1 | 28.9 |
| 8-11.9 | 79.6 | 19.8 | 8.7 | 17.1 | 34.0 |
| 12-15.9 | 108.6 | 26.7 | 29.5 | 14.9 | 37.5 |
| 16-23.9 | 306.5 | 77.3 | 82.9 | 105.3 | 41.0 |
| 24-31.9 | 237.4 | 76.2 | 73.7 | 76.5 | 11.0 |
| 32-63.9 | 519.0 | 159.0 | 190.2 | 150.1 | 19.7 |
| 64 and over | 470.9 | 148.8 | 278.6 | 35.1 | 8.4 |

Man-equivalents available by using capacity and time conversion ratios

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Total | 1,946.6 | 550.0 | 706.0 | 445.1 | 245.5 |
| Under 4 | 19.0 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 4.6 | 12.8 |
| 4- 7.9 | 63.6 | 4.6 | 1.6 | 15.5 | 41.9 |
| 8-11.9 | 98.9 | 22.0 | 12.1 | 19.0 | 45.8 |
| 12-15.9 | 118.5 | 28.1 | 28.4 | 16.6 | 45.4 |
| 16-23.9 | 332.9 | 88.1 | 83.8 | 109.9 | 51.1 |
| 24-31.9 | 248.0 | 79.3 | 78.0 | 76.8 | 13.9 |
| 32-63.9 | 559.8 | 169.0 | 201.2 | 162.8 | 26.8 |
| 64 and over | 505.9 | 157.9 | 300.3 | 39.9 | 7.8 |

methods. On farms with 64 or more war units, the difference is only about 27 percent.

It should be obvious by now that the number of man-days of labor available for farm work is a

highly variable quantity. The above variations were obtained by merely shifting the conversion ratios. It is quite apparent what results would be obtained by allowing the number of working days per year to shift up and down the scale from 166 to 338.

There is one other comparison which should be given attention before closing this analysis. In January and February of 1943, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration conducted a nationwide, farm-to-farm census of available manpower. In this survey, each farmer was asked to give the number of months every person in the regular labor force was expecting to work. The farmer was also asked to give the appropriate conversion ratio for each person in terms of a male-equivalent. An analysis of these data has been made and the results are shown in Table 3.

In calculating the man-days of labor available from these data, the base of 240 working days for a year has been used. From these same data, available labor was determined by applying the time and capacity conversion ratios. It will be recalled that this set of factors revealed the greatest amount of labor in the preceding analysis. However, even this apparently high estimate is only 90.5 percent as high as the farmers' estimate. In one of the major areas, the application of the conversion factors showed only 88 percent as much labor as the farmers' estimate.

On the smaller farms, the farmers' estimate of available labor is actually lower than that shown by the time and capacity estimate. In one area, Coastal Plain, for farms with less than 4 war units, the estimate of available labor by using the conversion ratios is approximately 163 percent as high as the farmers' estimate. These data seem to indicate that the number of working days in the year is very closely associated with the size of the operation. Also, the regional differences or variations seem to indicate rather conclusively that type-of-farming and cultural variations are important in determining the number of working days per year that should be assigned to a full adult male-equivalent.

The author is aware that there is one link completely missing from this chain of evidence. The missing link is the matter of farm operation efficiency. This applies to efficiency from the view of equipment and other labor saving devices employed, as well as the efficiency of the working population on the farm. Of course, in determining labor requirements, at least a part of this factor is considered and allowance made. The other part

TABLE 3
TWO ESTIMATES OF MAN-DAYS OF LABOR AVAILABLE
PER FARM BY WAR UNITS AND FOR AREAS,
NORTH CAROLINA, 1943

| WAR UNITS | MAN-DAYS OF LABOR AVAILABLE PER FARM | | (2) ÷ (1) |
|---------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------|
| | Farmers' Estimate | Time and capacity estimate | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| State | | | |
| Total | 529 | 479 | 90.5 |
| Under 4 | 236 | 245 | 103.8 |
| 4- 7.9 | 339 | 321 | 94.7 |
| 8-11.9 | 378 | 334 | 88.4 |
| 12-15.9 | 427 | 378 | 88.5 |
| 16-23.9 | 526 | 465 | 88.4 |
| 24-31.9 | 662 | 556 | 84.0 |
| 32 and over | 1,237 | 1,129 | 91.3 |
| Tidewater | | | |
| Total | 675 | 619 | 91.7 |
| Under 4 | 227 | 308 | 135.7 |
| 4- 7.9 | 321 | 359 | 111.8 |
| 8-11.9 | 418 | 360 | 86.1 |
| 12-15.9 | 472 | 370 | 78.4 |
| 16-23.9 | 542 | 481 | 88.7 |
| 24-31.9 | 610 | 500 | 82.0 |
| 32 and over | 1,937 | 1,853 | 95.7 |
| Coastal Plain | | | |
| Total | 721 | 650 | 90.2 |
| Under 4 | 198 | 322 | 162.6 |
| 4- 7.9 | 411 | 374 | 91.0 |
| 8-11.9 | 440 | 315 | 71.6 |
| 12-15.9 | 408 | 364 | 89.2 |
| 16-23.9 | 525 | 476 | 90.7 |
| 24-31.9 | 635 | 584 | 92.0 |
| 32 and over | 1,340 | 1,209 | 90.2 |
| Piedmont | | | |
| Total | 462 | 423 | 91.6 |
| Under 4 | 198 | 242 | 122.2 |
| 4- 7.9 | 270 | 290 | 107.4 |
| 8-11.9 | 337 | 314 | 93.2 |
| 12-15.9 | 413 | 383 | 92.7 |
| 16-23.9 | 507 | 438 | 86.4 |
| 24-31.9 | 709 | 558 | 78.7 |
| 32 and over | 895 | 808 | 90.3 |
| Mountain | | | |
| Total | 372 | 327 | 87.9 |
| Under 4 | 261 | 232 | 88.9 |
| 4- 7.9 | 384 | 331 | 86.2 |
| 8-11.9 | 410 | 375 | 91.5 |
| 12-15.9 | 444 | 391 | 88.1 |
| 16-23.9 | 743 | 614 | 82.6 |
| 24-31.9 | 440 | 444 | 100.9 |
| 32 and over | 480 | 480 | 100.0 |

is considered to some extent by getting the farmer to assign a male-equivalent ratio value to each worker. However, it must be admitted that the problem of efficiency has not been studied and analyzed too carefully in farm labor studies.

CONCLUSION

The main question should now be restated. What is the available labor supply? The foregoing discussion is not presented to confuse this issue but, if possible, to clarify the question. Certainly one of the most important conclusions to be drawn from these data is that the amount of farm labor available in the regular labor force at any given time is a variable quantity.

This should not be construed to mean that such studies are of little or no value. Such studies, carried on over a period of two or more years with conversion ratios held rather constant, do indicate changes in the labor supply and the relative ratio between labor requirements for production and the

available labor supply. Even on a one-year basis, regional variations show up; therefore, critical labor shortage areas are easily determined.

It is quite possible that the flexibility of the farm labor supply has not been given sufficient attention, especially in these emergency times. For example, by considering the type of jobs performed, it is possible to construct a good case for classifying females of 18-44 years as full male-equivalents for the period worked outside the house, actually on the farm. The same might be said for both males and females in the younger age groups. Very young children, even under 10 years of age, may and often do, carry a full man-load for a short time, not perhaps in the sense of the most difficult work but certainly from the view of tasks necessary to the farm operation.

To predict the available labor supply a year in advance, farm labor research must be made as flexible as the farmer actually makes his supply under any given set of circumstances.

DISCUSSION*

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THE paper, "Some Concepts of Labor Availability" by Selz C. Mayo points out in good fashion the inadequacy of present techniques in measuring accurately the labor supply. The immaturity of research development in this field is not surprising since we have just now begun to consider seriously the extent of our labor power. Heretofore, we have been wasteful of it, perhaps thinking that all of it was not needed anyway. In addition, there has been some reticence in representing women and children as units of farm labor, since our conception of their rôles has not been fully in accord with an extended participation in this field. On the other hand, there is probably little objection to measurement of the farm family's labor power provided such power is exercised in acceptable channels.

In further research on this subject, however, closer collaboration needs to be maintained between those who estimate labor power and those

who are concerned with its utilization; that is to say, the sociologists who are concerned with computing labor availability need to work closely with the farm-management workers who concern themselves with the amount of labor needed to grow, for example, an acre of cotton. In fact, these two approaches must be synthesized if the question which this paper raises, namely, "Is there enough labor in the regular labor force to obtain a given level of production?" is to be accurately answered.

This is essential because the effectiveness of a given unit of labor in production is contingent upon the method of its application—a factor rather elusive unless considered in some detail. Obviously, a man-equivalent unit expended on a highly mechanized farm will yield greater results than the same unit applied without machinery. Likewise, in reducing the labor of women and children to man-equivalent units, the conversion factor would be greatly affected by the degree and type of mechanization. A sixteen-year-old girl, for example, might be able to run a tractor and thus perform a man's function, whereas under circumstances of

* Read before the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 1, 1944.

hand labor she would be unable to meet the requirements of a man-equivalent unit. Furthermore, there are many gradations in mechanization as well as other variations in farm organization which affect labor utilization and availability.

Among these may be mentioned, size of farm, seasonality of labor demand, availability of seasonal laborers and availability of off-farm employment for the regular farm labor force. Some preliminary studies recently made in Texas indicate that the relation of labor supply and demand varies greatly not only as between months of the year but also according to the size of the farm unit. Generally speaking, it was found that on the larger farms the labor supply was insufficient during the spring months, which means that additional labor was needed at that time on these farms; on the other hand, the smaller farms had an over-supply of regular labor during all months of the year. In other words, whereas the total amount of available labor for all farms might have been sufficient, there was not enough on the large farms and too much on the small farms. Moreover, the distribution of the labor supply and demand as between the months of the year was the determining element in deciding whether or not the labor supply was sufficient to meet the demands in question.

The term, labor *availability*, is used throughout the paper without specific definition. A question as to its exact meaning might be raised. We assume that the writer's definition presumes a person available as a worker if he has the physical qualifications including age and sex. On the other hand, availability, in a practical sense, may be the function of conditions apart from these factors. That is to say, *availability* is contingent on specified conditions of demand and incentive. Thus, one writer has gone as far as to determine the labor supply in terms of the regular labor supply as contrasted with the *feasible supply*, the latter phrase signifying what the supply would be if the incentives were somewhat higher than they now are. The problem here is perhaps very much like that of the man who when asked if he will sell his farm replies, "Certainly, if I can get enough for it." Probably further attention needs to be given to the conditions underlying availability.

Mr. Mayo has pointed out that most of the present studies are inadequate because the areas which they cover are too wide and they do not fit the local conditions within the areas. He further indicates that the population of the rural areas has

changed rapidly in age and sex composition, due to the present emergency, thus affecting available labor. It might be added that much of the current resistance to apparently desirable manpower adjustments may be traceable to a lack of confidence by the public in these overall computations, which do not fit local conditions. This relates not only to sex and age differences but also to the differences in production techniques and farming enterprises between local areas.

In addition, it is impossible to determine the adequacy of a given farm unit to provide full employment for its resident workers unless something is known of the available supplementary employment off the farm. Likewise, the availability of seasonal laborers to supply the extra demand at particular seasons needs to be understood in order to size up the supply situation.

"On the smaller farms," says Mr. Mayo, "the farmer's estimate of available labor is actually lower than that shown by the time and capacity estimate." That is as one might expect since the experience of the writer has been that the average farmer, particularly on a small unit, overestimates the amount of labor which he puts on his farm. In these instances, the fundamental difficulty is that the farm is not of adequate size for a family unit. Although the operator recognizes this, he is likely to insist that it takes practically all of his time and that of his family to operate the farm. In speaking sometime back with an experiment station director who, years ago, left his South Carolina farm, the director stated that he left because he couldn't bear to see so much time wasted as was common for farm operators under the one-crop farming system. Not very many farmers, of course, are willing to make such an admission, their reluctance to do so being reflected in their frequently exaggerated answers respecting the number of days per year it takes to run their farms.

In his conclusion, Mr. Mayo states that "the farm labor available in the regular labor force at any given time is a *variable quantity*." If by this he means that one cannot know the productive value of a man-equivalent unit unless he also knows the situation to which this unit will be applied, I am in thorough agreement with him. The relative lack of research coordination at this point appears to be one of the weakest links in answering the question, "Is there enough labor in the regular labor force to obtain a given level of production?"

In other words, man-equivalent units as they now stand, even if figured on a comparable sex and age basis, still are only synthetic units of measurement not applicable in any accurate sense unless such factors as mechanization, size of farm, farming practices and farming enterprises are standardized. Furthermore, cultural variation as between localities needs to be recognized. Realizing these

limitations, Mr. Mayo pointed out that these studies may be of considerable value if carried on in a given area for two or more years, provided the conversion values are held rather constant. For broad measurements this procedure appears to be excellent, particularly if any changes in type of farming operations during the period are included as a part of the picture.

THE PERSON AND THE SOCIAL SITUATION

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THERE is a widespread misconception, even among social scientists, of the influence of a society, its component groups, and its culture patterns on an individual, compared with the influence of that same individual on society, its group and cultural components. A glance at the familiar facts of personality development will serve as an introduction to the problem.

The growing child necessarily learns to speak his "mother tongue"; comes to read books, periodicals, and newspapers originally printed for the most part in the same language; inevitably acquires the moral standards, table manners, forms of "etiquette," and other folkways of those about him; gradually develops an unquestioning devotion to the political ideals and institutions of his country; for many years attends schools whose curricula and methods are all formulated in advance; plays the games—some of them hundreds of years old—in vogue among his successive age-groups; necessarily prefers some political party, some religious "faith," perhaps some specific denomination, all firmly established before he appeared on the scene; must follow some specialized vocation already incorporated in the existing economic order; acquires food preferences, standards of living, ways of using leisure, tastes in clothes (and everything else) from the groups and communities of which he is a member. A whole scheme of life—or at least the range of alternative schemes—awaits him and there is little he can do about it, unless he should "run away" when he gets old enough, and even then he would run into much the same kind of situation.

The individuality of one's particular scheme of life seems insignificant beside this all-embracing, this near-omnipotent "social environment" that

begins moulding one's life the day one is born and ceases only when life itself ceases.

To this seemingly irresistible force of the social milieu, however, certain offsets are to be weighed. For one thing, (1) the society itself with its various groupings and culture patterns is composed of *individuals and their activities*, all on a par with the poor individual depicted above as little more than a creature of the social order. *The true picture is one of individuals influencing individuals*—largely, of course, through their groups and communities. Obviously, culture is made and is ever being remade by individuals thus organized.

(2) Language, ideas, folkways, sentiments, attitudes, goals, interests, are not forced on the individual, mechanical fashion. Rather, he *accepts* them and makes them his own through the process of re-creating himself called education. For the most part—or for most persons—the social "inheritance" thus assimilated is *congenial*. Generally speaking, we *like* our own culture, and would not change it for any other.

(3) Expressing much the same thing in psychological terms, the *stimulus* to individual behavior comes mostly from the outside (the social situation together with the "natural" environment) but the *response* is necessarily the individual's own. And the response is highly selective, as anyone can see for himself by noting how he continually rejects or ignores stimuli as well as singling out stimuli he shall respond to. Clearly an individual contributes at least as much as his society in making his life what it is. Moreover, as suggested above, he repays society's contribution to his development, because he is himself a member of

society and contributes his share to the development of the other members.

(4) As noted, culture is ever being remade, and in the present era is being enormously expanded. Scholars, artists, inventors, promoters, executives, educators take the lead in this movement, but virtually the entire population contributes to it. The automobile industry, for example, is the creation not alone of the inventive geniuses and great organizers who supplied the top leadership, but also of the many workers who have manned the industry; the larger number that produced the necessary plants, supplies, and materials for the industry, together with the roads for cars to run on; and the still greater number of car users, whose demands for these contraptions set the goals and governed the growth of the industry. Were the analysis carried out in detail it would likely be found that the automobile industry is the creation of all the people (excepting only the small number of dwellers in mountain hollow or other inaccessible places).¹

All such facts support this proposition: *On the average, and in the long run, the individual exerts as much influence on society, its component groups, communities, and culture patterns as all these, in turn, exert on him.* Otherwise expressed, the ordinary person (the actual John Smith or Mary Jones of one's acquaintance) is on the transmitting as well as the receiving end of social influence, and to the same extent. Each individual pulls his own weight in the social boat, and the "average" individual the average weight.

This proposition can be put in mathematical form, with the assumption, however, of the extremely important qualifications, (1) "on the average," and (2) "in the long run":

Let S = the given society;

n = the number of its individual members;

i = the influence of S on the "average" member.

Then ni = the aggregate influence of S on all the members; $\frac{ni}{n}$ (or i) = the share of the "average" member in the aggregate influence of S on all the members.

Therefore, the influence (i) of the given society on the average individual equals (or is the equivalent of) his share (i) of society's influence on all the members.

¹ Cf. Mandel Sherman and Thomas R. Henry, *The Hollow Folk* (1933).

If the algebra is uninviting, one can use ordinary arithmetic instead and take as an illustration, say, the United States of America considered as a complete society. Then, obviously, its total influence on its members equals the total influence by the members. There are around 135 million of us altogether. Well, the 135 million are influencing and being influenced by 135 million; and "on the average" each of us assimilates and at the same time supplies $\frac{1}{135,000,000}$ of this total influence.

The qualifying phrase "on the average" takes account of the countless individual differences of a society's members in this process of reciprocal, give-and-take influencing; for instance, of the range of differences between the idiot and the intellectual genius, or between a great organizational leader and his most slavish follower, or, more generally, between the one who contributes least and the one who contributes most to the "dynamics" of a social situation.

The qualification "in the long run" allows for differences between young and old, between earlier and later generations, and (together with the qualification "on the average") between the cultural and related influences of different societies on one another.

The foregoing analysis is quite general in character, applying to all societies alike regardless of their structure, regardless of the opportunities offered individual members or social classes to develop their capacities and make their contributions to social dynamics. Such opportunities are most important, as the differences between an illiterate and an "educated" people, or between an autocratic and a democratic state, sufficiently illustrate.

One corollary of the general proposition may be worth pointing out. The part played by the individual in shaping the lives of other persons—millions of them—means that he is "responsible" for this influence, if there is such a thing as responsibility in the social sense. Actually recognizing this responsibility and living up to it is another matter. It is possible with competent social education to bring home a sense of this responsibility to a great majority of society's members. So far as this shall be done the individual will no longer be able to plead his powerlessness as an alibi for evading his responsibilities to his fellows.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SOCIAL WORK TODAY

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INTRODUCTION

WHAT are some of the highlights in social work today and where does the profession seem to be going? There are developments which are of major importance to the profession and to broad community welfare; there are others which are less so. Both demand attention but first let us consider those which appear to have greatest significance. It seems to the writer that there are four developments in social work which are important for the total welfare of human beings and not just for social work performance. They are: (1) the revived interest of social workers in social movements, social action, social reform; (2) the cooperation of labor and social work; (3) the adaptation of social work to new settings; (4) the weaving of the profession of social work into the community fabric. Let us consider briefly each of these points.

First. Social work is experiencing revitalization. It is looking at itself critically and constructively; it is adapting itself to a rapidly changing milieu; and it is restating its philosophy. In the early years of what we now call social work, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the leaders, not yet having formulated many techniques, did not worry too much about them but put major emphasis on the social situation of the persons with whom they worked. If the environment was inadequate and unsatisfactory, they had the courage fearlessly to expose it and to attempt its change. In time, however, almost total consideration was given to techniques and methods, an inevitable and even desirable phase of any profession provided the forest is not lost sight of, which unfortunately happened in social work. Techniques became masters

instead of servants. A depression and a war have made that point of view anachronistic. Today social work is less self-conscious and introspective and more aware of its place in a larger setting. Its objectives include not only providing technical skills to individuals with problems but also the prevention of distress. This implies knowledge of economic and social conditions and of national and international problems.

Innumerable illustrations might be given to make this point. For example, the Emergency Committee for Social Work comprised of seventy social workers from all over the country, published in the April 1944 *Compass* an article entitled *To Social Workers: A Call to Action*. Their objectives for social action are as follows: (1) full development and equitable distribution of national and international resources; (2) full employment and balanced wage price system; (3) extension of education, health services, housing, recreation, and social security, (4) racial and ethnic equality. At least two meetings at Cleveland during the 1944 National Conference of Social Work were given over to this subject.

Again illustrative of the emphasis on causation and prevention of social and personal problems are the topics of some of the speeches given at Cleveland, such as: "War and the Social Services," by Elizabeth Wisner, President of the Conference, with her emphasis on the need for full employment; "A Nation Worthy of Heroes" by Max Lerner of *P M* magazine with his emphasis on the three goals most wanted by our Armed Forces: a busy America, a warless world, a belief or faith; "The Social Responsibility of Labor in Postwar Society" by two labor leaders from the AF of L and the CIO;

"Needed Amendments to the Social Security Act and Their Achievement" by James E. Murray, co-author of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill; "A Health Program for the Nation" by Michael M. Davis, Chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics; "International Migration: Displaced Persons" by Mary E. Hurlbutt, of the New York School of Social Work; "Equality of Opportunity" by Lester B. Granger, Secretary of the National Urban League.

Again, Gordon Hamilton, an outstanding case worker and teacher in the New York School of Social Work, in a recent article in the *Social Service Review* placed a strong emphasis on the need for reconceiving the curriculum of schools of social work in terms of world human needs. In such planning she believes it necessary that the subject matter, philosophy, and technical skills be related to a positive program for an adequate standard of living, to a world point of view, and to a philosophy of racial and cultural democracy. In her words, "Our students must assimilate fully the tremendous concepts of rights, of needs, of responsibilities, of tolerance, self-direction and participation and translate these tremendous concepts into skills."

All of this seems to indicate that the social worker is again willing to be a reformer—not in the sense of muckraker or uninformed zealot or bigoted missionary, but in the sense of combining a knowledge of facts with a faith that a better world can be achieved. There need not be a separation between good professional practice and earnest striving for a good life anymore than what Harold Laski calls the divorce between scholarship and life. In his words, "The abyss which separates the intellectuals of the main world of scholarship, above all in the academic world, from the main problems of their time is as grave in its implications as it is wide in its extent."

Carr-Saunders and Wilson in their book, *The Professions* regret that the professions make progress but only in their own grooves, that they do not grasp the essential features of social and economic situations, that they treat superficially the remainder of life outside their special activities. The remedy for this lack of vision is the use of their own organizations not only for the consideration of technical problems but for the determination of the place of the particular professional group in society. This is now being done by numbers of social work groups.

Second. The next development, and directly linked with the first, is the alliance of labor and

social work. In the language of Dr. Ellen Potter, 1944-45 President of the National Conference of Social Work, "From the point of view of the incoming President, the most profoundly significant development [at the Cleveland meetings] was the presence of organized labor in strength, AF of L and CIO registering as members, attending meetings, speaking from the floor, asking pertinent questions and speaking formally from several platforms." The Joint Committee of Trade Unions in Social Work and The National Social Service Division of the United Office and Professional Workers of America are strong forces, especially in the east, in welding closer this relationship. A strong precipitating factor in this welding process has been joint participation in war relief campaigns but the depression hastened an inter-group consciousness. Labor and social work share the same interest in the common man—in his economic, social, and political welfare wherever he may be. It is inevitable that labor and social work organizations increasingly work together and often in the face of opposition from politicians, boards of directors, and vested interests. It is quite possible that some such heckling group as the Dies Committee will come forth with the accusation that the labor movement is the left wing of social work or social work the right wing of labor. The truth of the matter is that because of similarity of objectives there must be a closer tie-up between these two large organized groups. It is even possible that from these two groups will come the main pressures for directed social change.

Third and fourth. Since these developments will be discussed in considerable detail in the body of this paper it is unnecessary to do more than briefly refer to them here. The various methodologies of social work, case work, group work, and community organization are making striking adjustments to changing conditions and are doing it far more easily than they did during the depression. The tremendous amount of attention that has been given to social work skills and to the broad social services since 1930, means that there is less resistance today to the profession, in part because social workers are not so technique-minded and paradoxically have become better technicians, and in part because the people who need the social services understand them and want them. Even the Army has found itself using case workers, whom it ambiguously calls field agents, to gather mental, physical, and social histories on potential inductees. Although social workers are still ridiculed or

berated, and although relatively few people have much insight into their purposes and processes, there is general acceptance of their indispensability and the war is greatly increasing both acceptance and understanding.

CASE WORK

Having set out a brief general introductory statement of developments and challenges in social work, let us now proceed to observe activities and trends in the areas of case work, group work, community organization, public welfare administration and social action.

Until very recently such organizations as The American Association of Social Workers and the American Association of Schools of Social Work built their membership and curricula requirements on the theory that the primary skills of social work are those of case work. In fact a case worker, Mary Richmond, is responsible for the first comprehensive formulation of social work and case work principles. Upon her formulation successive workers have built additional principles. Many of these principles and techniques are equally applicable to the other areas of social work. For example, all social workers must learn how to gather data, analyze, evaluate, and use it. All social workers must understand that behavior is symptomatic and purposive and may express deep conflict; that it may be consciously or unconsciously motivated; that it has a history. All social workers must appreciate the significance of the cultural environment to the development of personality. All must recognize that the family as a unit of interacting personalities is the primary institution in the formation of personality and character. All must develop their professional selves. All must believe in the democratic principle of the right of self-determination and apply it. Such principles as these permeate social work activity and are part of the daily performance of all social workers. Case work has been the means by which many of these ideas have seeped through all professional social work practice.

Case work, however, is not occupying the same limelight today as ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago. This is undoubtedly due to many factors, in part because the other areas of performance are more aware of the contributions they have to make and are making them, and in part because the youthful phase of case work when it talked and thought constantly of itself is superseded by a more adult

period when it considers realities other than itself. Dr. Ellen Potter made a similar observation when she wrote in a little article, "The President Speaks her mind," in the *July Conference Bulletin*, "There was a shift in emphasis in the section programs [of the 1944 National Conference of Social Work] which was of historic significance. Case work did not hold the spotlight to the same degree as in recent years. Its techniques and psychiatric refinements gave place to adaptation of skill to new needs, in new settings, and shortcuts to goals which must be quickly reached."

The present most significant developments in case work appear to be three: (1) counseling; (2) extension into new fields; (3) leadership in the reconception of function.

First. Vocational and industrial counseling, marriage counseling, counseling in clinics are not new processes. The first has not usually been done by professional case workers, the latter two often have. For the purposes of this paper counseling means a person to person relationship with one individual seeking help from the other who is prepared to give the help without superimposition of opinion or act. Suddenly counseling has become a popular function, often performed by persons or agencies wishing to be helpful but not quite knowing how. PTA's, AAUW's, Rotary Clubs, Junior Chambers of Commerce develop a counseling program for soldiers or soldiers' wives, refugees, or migratory workers or whomever. It is as though there were magic in the word and hence in the activity.

The rapid growth of counseling in both new and old settings as in unions and in industry, in the administration of the social insurances, in employment and rehabilitation agencies, in USO's, in settlements, Y's, Scout organizations, and in correctional institutions, inevitably means much inadequate and some competent service. Many of the people in these organizations are counseling in the sense of prescribing and dictating, not in the sense of helping the client work out his own destiny. The principles of case work should be the principles of counseling or in other words, counseling is case work most frequently on a short contact basis. It seems clear that counseling will come to be considered an aspect of case work if case workers function unobtrusively and without smug superiority of language, performance, and principle.

Second. Case work has always been used in numerous settings. The recent rapid extension of case work to new fields has come about largely

through the expansion of counseling just discussed. Perhaps the most important extension of case work methods is taking place in labor unions, in war nurseries both in the admission processes and in the treatment of the children themselves, in USO clubs and in USO Travelers Aids, in public housing ventures, in the rehabilitation agencies, in information centers for returning veterans, and with the old services of the Red Cross including Home Service and medical social service. In most of these areas the contacts of the case worker or counselor are short and considerable adaptation of techniques is necessary.

Third. The expansion of the horizons of social work, referred to in the introduction of this paper, has been precipitated in large part by case workers. This is not to say that there are no leaders in this new activity from the areas of group work and community organization but that numbers of workers from the case work area, as Bertha Reynolds, Gordon Hamilton, Fern Lowry, Clara Rabinowitz Antoinette Cannon, Dorothy Kahn, Constance Kyle, took the initiative in drawing attention to the interrelation of person and environment before the revived interest in consciously directed social change virtually became a social movement. Even though that proportion of the total number of case workers performing this function is small, still it is the case worker who has helped give new dimensions to the familiar social work job.

GROUP WORK

What are the most significant developments in social group work? They are several: *First*, the recent careful formulation of methods and principles, a phase which case work has been going through since 1917 and the publication of *Social Diagnosis*. Such books as *New Trends in Group Work*, *Studies in Group Behavior*, *Creative Group Education* illustrate this development. None has yet done for group work and social work what *Social Diagnosis* did for case work and social work. The creation of the American Association for the Study of Group Work, comprised of anyone interested in the field, and its organ, *The Group*, have focused attention on professional group work problems and now there is discussion of forming an organization comprised exclusively of professional group workers.

Second, the mutual understanding of group workers and recreation workers, who may or may not be competent in both areas of performance. It

seems clear that recreation workers who are usually considered to have a program-centered interest and group workers a person-centered interest cannot well do without the other. Even such organizations as the USO, where most of the activities are planned for participation by thousands of service men, carries on group work activities. Not only are some of the activities adapted to small numbers of participants but many leaders consciously and carefully employ the techniques of group work. In a USO known to the writer, which makes some 50,000 contacts a month, one staff member trained in peace-time group work gives special attention to craft, music, art and discussion groups; incidentally he is the most resourceful member of the staff in planning programs for the multitudes.

Third, a tremendous growth of interest in recreation, particularly youth activities and largely because of greatly increased delinquency. Hundreds of communities have not only expanded existing recreation and group work resources, but have set up youth centers and councils. Innumerable articles on youth activities with a juvenile-delinquency-prevention emphasis appear in magazines of as divergent types as, *The Survey*, *Recreation*, *Time*, *Life*, *Vogue*, *Mademoiselle*. Evidence accumulates that police departments throughout the country are becoming increasingly interested in the provision of recreation as one method of preventing delinquency.

Interest in leisure time activities for youth as a means of preventing delinquency has been so emphasized that some communities are in danger of forgetting that younger children, adults, and the aged also have recreational interests and needs. This overemphasis is not so likely to occur in those communities which appreciate that the teen-canteen should be managed by youth and only sponsored by adults, that the youth center is only a part of a total community leisure-time program, that such purposes as relaxation and rest, personality growth, the expansion of interest horizons are as important as delinquency prevention. It is probably true, however, that too many people have benefited by new or expanded programs and by the wide use of such resources as schools and churches, for leisure time activities to experience sudden diminution in the postwar period. What form that interest will take and its extent are difficult to predict, but it does seem clear that many hitherto uninterested persons now believe that both public and private funds should be provided

for leisure-time activities for all age groups and for very diverse interests.

Fourth, extension of and adaptation of group work knowledge, techniques, theory to new fields and agencies, similar to the same development in social case work. The noticeable areas of new activity in recreation and group work include trade unions and cooperatives, housing enterprises, military organizations, churches and student religious centers, campus unions. To illustrate, the University of Wisconsin offers field experience to group work students with student churches, a USO, a military camp, a hosteling agency, hospitals, an industrial school for delinquent girls, and also with the older organizations as Scouts, a Settlement, Y's, etc. Recently a student who did her field work with a campus religious center and who wrote a paper on group work in churches pointed out the extent to which group work principles can be applied to the recreation and leisure time programs and to the religious and educational programs of churches. Such a new organization as the USO has been responsible for extensive "retooling" of group work practices. An organization that catches thousands of men on the fly must modify not only program techniques and content but also human relationships.

Fifth, individualization of group members. A considerable number of articles have recently been published on the contributions of group work and case work to each other and on individualization in group work. Among these are "Methods of Record-Keeping of Group Behavior and Individual Contacts," "Interplay of the Insights of Case Work and Group Work" by Gertrude Wilson, "Case Work and Group Work Cooperation" by Hester and Thomas, "The Group in Development and Therapy" by S. R. Slavson. In 1943, the book *Personality and Social Group Work* made its appearance. Its thesis is that group workers attempting to change activities and behavior in the interest of social welfare must individualize group members very much more than has been customary. The introduction of an individual approach and increased skill in the methods of guidance will immeasurably help the group worker in attaining his goals, says Everett DuVall, author of the book. Critics have reacted negatively to the emphasis rather than to the general thesis. It is agreed that the group exists for the individual and not vice versa, but it is also maintained that the primary relationships in group work are not the face-to-face ones of the case worker, but group-leader

relationships, and that guidance or counseling or individualizing is in order that the group may be more effective in the life of each individual member. The narrative and chronological records of Grace Coyle and others show how necessary it is, if the group is to serve an educational and recreational purpose, that the members be understood as individuals; that the backgrounds, the resistances and interests, the personality organization be understood. This does not mean that the leader will spend the largest part of his time fraternizing with and studying individuals but that he will observe each member of the group carefully, acquire information about him, and conduct such outside-the-group interviews as seem necessary to make the group most beneficial.

Sixth, the greatly expanded use of volunteers and changes in the training methods of both lay and professional personnel. A war always brings myriads of laymen into the community service picture. This war has used millions of volunteers on selective service and ration boards, on war chests, in Travelers Aids, youth centers, scout organizations, USOs, hospitals. The large percentage of these recruits will go back to their peace-time pursuits when the war ends; some will not; many of the total will have a new appreciation of the knowledge and experience of professional social workers. Recreation and group work have probably used more volunteers than any other area of social work activities.

War-time use of volunteers has required adaptation in teaching and supervisory processes. The professional worker has had to accept less competent performance than he associates with professional experience and even at times to appreciate the fact that laymen may perform with remarkable understanding and ability. Condescension and impatience have no place in work with volunteers. War activity also has shown that professional education can be speeded up and produce informed and even adequate performance. The USO, for example, has taken men and women from many different activities and after short courses sent them to difficult jobs involving skills in subject matter, administration, and community relations. This need of producing professional and lay competency as rapidly as possible will undoubtedly continue to affect curricula of schools of social work. Modifications include the extension of social work practice into new areas of activity, a hardening of the core of course content, a closer tying together of social work knowledge with that of politicians,

economists, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The professionalization of community organization, like group work, is a development of the last one or two decades. Although social workers have always been active in community organization, carrying on many of the processes as incidents of other functions, only recently has there been any agreement on a definition and any considerable amount of analysis of problems and techniques. There is now fairly general agreement on the nature and function of community organization, but still controversy about acceptable techniques.

Wayne Macmillan in a recent *Social Service Review* article, gives a good definition of community organization. "The primary objective of the community organization process is to help people to find ways to give expression to (their) inherent desires to improve the environment in which they and their fellows must carry on their lives." The community organization process involves relationships between and among groups through two basic processes, first to evoke and cultivate the inherent desire of people to work together for community welfare, and second to assist in the development of the process by supplying the technical services required. This then is the *first* major development in community organization, the acceptance of definition, analysis of practice and theory, and the realization that many of the methods used are common to all social work.

A *second* major development in community organization is the rapid expansion in number of war chests. Sometimes this has meant an enlargement of the existing peace-time chest to include war agencies, sometimes a new and supplementary agency for war relief purposes. The President's War Relief Control Board, created by executive order in July 1942, with its predecessors, was responsible for eliminating a large number of small or unreliable foreign relief organizations attempting to raise funds in local communities. The National War Fund, a private corporation organized in the winter of 1942-43, is the agency which counsels with local communities on their war relief campaigns. These two organizations, the Federal agency giving its stamp of approval to certain war relief agencies and the national private agency stimulating local war relief campaigns are, in part, responsible for the great growth

of war chests and have done much to integrate war relief and regular welfare activities.

A *third* development worthy of discussion here is the growth in community planning. Two primary causative factors in this development are the OCD with its stimulation of physical and social protective resources and the multiplication of services with the attendant overlapping of costs and personnel. The block plan of the OCD successful in relatively few communities, projected the idea of neighborhood organization for community war activities. The emphasis of the OCD on community and state councils and on the block plan focused attention on planning. The impermanence of the organizational aspects of this Federal agency are probably due (1) to the fact that they were federally stimulated and many feared that "Government" would intrude on their personal lives, and (2) that the impact of the war never reached large sections of the country. Functional councils, councils of social agencies, civic planning groups, have been outgrowths of war interests and many of them will continue into the peace-time period.

The most important public planning organization was the National Resources Planning Board. Congress was sufficiently suspicious of it to deny it appropriations and thus to abolish it. Social workers know the reports of the Board best through the monumental volume, *Security, Work and Relief Policies*. It was the function of the board through a staff of experts to obtain data on many physical and social problems and to suggest recommendations for meeting them. It was not the function of the board to blueprint rigid plans to be inflicted upon the people of this country as some people feared. It is to be hoped that a similar body will be revived in the postwar period.

A *fourth* important phenomenon in the area of community organization has already been referred to, namely the activity of labor which is calling for more aggressive action from social workers, is seeking and obtaining representation on public and private welfare boards, and is drawing social work skills into its own organizations. Since social workers and labor are working for identical goals of better standards of living and security for the bulk of the American people, social workers and labor must coordinate their efforts. This was eloquently urged at a recent institute of Wisconsin County Public Welfare Administrators by Professor Selig Perlman, a student of labor movements for thirty-five years. In his talk on the social

psychology of the labor movement he showed how social workers as the healers of personal wounds must also interpret one group to another, an especially important function in relation to labor activities. Social workers are the general practitioners and family physicians working with the total person in distress and with the total community in its intergroup relationships in contrast with the analogous medical specialist who deals with a segment of a person's problem and a small part of a community. Social workers, continued Professor Perlman, are being required to study, interpret, and integrate community thinking and activities at four focal points: labor, housing, health, and veterans, and not the least of these is labor.

A *fifth* development is organization for increase of racial and religious understanding and for dealing with the problems of groups having unfamiliar backgrounds and culture. International migration, actual and potential infiltration of refugees, labor problems, courageous fighting for their country by racial minorities are responsible for serious consideration of the problems of discrimination. President Roosevelt's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, the objective of which is to provide full utilization of all available manpower and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices is a manifestation of governmental concern with this aspect of human relations. Another agency is the War Refugee Board set up by executive order of the President in January 1944, and designed to consider the refugee problem, particularly the needs of dislocated Jews and to find means of meeting the needs of some percentage of this vast group of people. The War Relocation Authority also created by executive order, primarily for the purpose of removal of Japanese from danger zones on the West Coast, has of course accentuated racial problems but, by the use of social workers, has attempted to reduce the inevitable antagonisms between groups and areas.

How best to organize the community for interracial cooperation is a moot question. The organization of groups of mixed persons for no specific purpose other than sharing of cultural interests has not been fruitful. Rather there seem to be two methods that can better be employed: (1) the creation of special committees or groups to work on some specific problem as the settlement of the Japanese in a given community or the handling of negro discrimination on a given campus and (2) the use of already existing groups by extending their interests and functions. In other words,

specific objectives and not just generous goodwill must characterize organizations for increasing racial and religious understanding.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

We have now discussed what this writer believes are the most significant developments in the three areas of social work performance which all social workers agree are distinctly social work skills. Whether administration in the public welfare field and social action are social work skills *per se* or are fields in and of themselves used in many other occupations and professions is not important for this paper. The very fact that social workers believe that administrators of public welfare and those attempting to achieve social action in the areas of health and welfare should know social work from the inside out indicates that there are aspects of public welfare administration and social action as performed by the social worker which are distinctive. Public welfare administration to this writer means administration of tax supported services and agencies not just for the delinquent and criminal, the sick and well poor, the insane and feeble-minded, the dependent and neglected child, but also in the fields of health and recreation.

The most important developments in public welfare administration seem to be: (1) great expansion of governmental services requiring large numbers of administrators; (2) the introduction of the social insurances; (3) the development of an international relief organization, the UNRRA; (4) the continuous attention to methods of improving services.

First. One of the most important developments in the twentieth century, especially in the thirties and forties, is the rapid growth of governmental services particularly social services and particularly by the Federal Government. Not until the depression and the New Deal was it possible to prevail upon Congress to enlarge the meaning of the constitutional phrase, "general welfare" for the benefit of the poor and needy wherever they might be and thus to reverse the 1854 veto of President Pierce in which he said he could not find any authority in the Constitution for making the Federal Government the great almoner of public charity throughout the United States.

It is no news that the depression brought with it such new Federal governmental services and agencies as the FERA, WPA, NYA, Surplus commodities, the Social Securities Act, and the war such agencies as the OCD, Office of Community

War Services, day nursery programs, health programs for war wives and infants, allotment and allowance provisions, the War Relief Control Board, educational and unemployment compensation programs for veterans, etc.

This great expansion of governmental social services has brought to public welfare administrators such problems as: What social services should be private and what public? Which level of government should perform what services? What are the functions of grants-in-aid and how should they be distributed? What should be the standards of public assistance? What services should be financed by government and what by recipients? What is competent performance? Typical of specific problems to which public welfare administrators are now giving their attention is whether or not all public assistance should be dispensed as general or as categorical relief, the former being the proposal of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

Second. Particularly important in the expansion of governmental services are the social insurances. The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, with its provisions for old age and unemployment insurance offered new security to the wage earners of the country. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill liberalizes the already existing provisions and provides for permanent and temporary disability insurance and for hospital and health insurance. The sections of the bill having to do with health insurance have brought terrific opposition from the medical profession. Mr. John M. Pratt of the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Services, in a little bulletin entitled, "Abolishing Private Medical Practice or a Prelude to a Centralized Control of the Professions and of Industry" which has been distributed by the millions writes, "Senate bill 1161 makes provision for *free* general medical, special medical, laboratory and hospital benefits for 110 million people in the United States." He seems to have forgotten that the bill provides for a six percent tax from employees and the same from employers, and he makes no suggestion for substitute services even though his committee professedly is for the extension of medical services!

It is unfortunate that the United States is almost the only large western country which lacks a social insurance scheme sufficiently comprehensive to include medical care and disability security. The data included in many studies shows the unequal distribution of medical care and of medical costs.

Only a comprehensive and a compulsory government scheme will equalize the distribution of those services. There are, of course, honest differences of opinion as to what groups should be included, whether it should be compulsory or voluntary, what proportion of expense should be met by government, by industry, and by workers, and whether it should be federal or federal-state or exclusive state administered. It does seem incontrovertible that the people of the United States increasingly need and want more medical protection.

Third. The creation of the UNRRA, an international relief and rehabilitation organization, is a tremendously significant development in the welfare field, both because it represents a method of international cooperation and because it utilizes the experiences of skilled social workers. For example, Fred A. Hoehler, former director of the American Public Welfare Association, is the head of the Division of Dislocated Persons. Many of the principles of the organization are derived from the experience of welfare administrators. Other international conferences as the Food Conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, the Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, the I.L.O. Conference at Philadelphia, the peace conference at Dumbarton Oaks, are proof of international concern with postwar economic and social problems. They are significant for social workers because they represent international effort to prevent future wars and to help the sufferers of World War II.

Fourth. During the war period, despite depletion of staffs, welfare administrators have done all they could to maintain standards of personnel and administration. They have continued to improve merit plans, to provide supervision, to offer in-service training programs, to distribute reports, handbooks, and professional literature. In short, they have made a valiant effort to protect the gains of the last decade. The Federal Employment Practices Committee composed of personnel from public and private welfare agencies has made commendable but unsuccessful efforts to obtain Federal funds for the training of social workers as for doctors and nurses. This failure indicates that social work is not yet accepted to the same extent as the medical and nursing professions. Generally speaking it appears that Congress and state legislatures value competency in the administration of the social services, although these bodies may not entirely agree with the social work profession as to what that competency involves.

SOCIAL ACTION

Social workers have a professional obligation first, to be experts in the skills of their profession and second, to work for social change in the areas where they have special knowledge. They have like all other citizens the further obligation to be aware of the economic and social forces that make for world chaos and to do something about them through political activities. When they attempt to effect community thought and action in those aspects of social disorganization where they are experts and do it through special interest and subject groups, they are fulfilling their second obligation.

The achievement of social action may be the primary, or the secondary, or only an incidental function of a social worker. It is his essential function, if, for example, he is the executive secretary of a State Welfare Council; it is his secondary function as head of a community chest or administrator of a welfare bureau; it is his incidental function as a case worker. Such organizations as the National Federation of Settlements, the Family Welfare Society of America, the National Child Labor Committee, the American Association for Social Security, the National Consumers League, and the social action divisions of the national church bodies give all or part of their time to achieving social action or social reform.

Obviously since social action is designed to effect change in social conditions, opposition which may be very influential and powerful is generated. The extent to which an agency will arouse the antagonisms of real estate interests for slum clearance or low cost housing, or of commercial recreation interests for the elimination of indecency and vice, or of the medical profession for health insurance, or of employers for higher wages, depends upon agency security, agency function, agency philosophy, and the relative strength in the community of support and opposition. The agency which exists for the purpose of achieving social change knows what it has to contend with when it is created. But the agency which has social action as a secondary or incidental function must carefully weigh the values of one or another course of action.

Social action is achieved by such processes as aggregation and dissemination of data, mobilizing of public opinion, lobbying, political action. Only recently have social workers openly and avowedly aligned themselves with political action groups. While this paper is being written an invitation has

come to join a Social Workers Committee for Roosevelt. The theory of the committee is that "Social workers have a part to play, with all other groups having the same aims, in drafting the President to carry further a program which makes it possible to have full employment, sound economic cooperation with allied nations, protection against exploitation, race discrimination, disfranchisement,—actually to realize, that is, the democracy for which we are fighting."

There will be strong differences of opinion between social workers as to whether or not they as social workers should form a political action committee, or whether as private individuals they should support political parties, or whether as experts they should join specific committees having specific purposes. Whatever may be the conclusion of any given social worker, the fact remains that social workers must increasingly assume responsibility for helping to achieve greater social security. They cannot remain quiet and indifferent concerning methods of eliminating what Sir William Beveridge calls, want, disease, ignorance, squalor, idleness. If we mean what we say when we say we wish to do away with the causes of distress which create a need for our profession we must be advocates, proponents, reformers. Were Mrs. Florence Kelly alive today she would welcome this urge to political action and perhaps feel less impulsion to berate and deride the profession for its complacent pride in expanding numbers and in widely attended conferences!

These then are the two most important developments among social workers in the area of social action: (1) They are recognizing an increasing obligation to participate in efforts for improvements in such fields as housing, employment, health, the social insurances, public assistance. (2) They are forming and joining political action groups.

CONCLUSION

Social workers have need for new faith and new hope. A depression, a war, and the fear of another depression leave them no time for idleness, lethargy, insulation. The very nature of their activities provides the incentive for consideration of motive and cause. It is a welcome trend that social workers are more and more willing to participate in the struggle for a better world. Faith that political and economic security can be achieved in this world

and in the predictable future is giving them courage to combat smugness and indifference, selfishness and vested interests. The orbit of vision of social workers is becoming wider.

In conclusion the main developments in social work in the judgment of this writer are:

1. The relative maturity of performance and attitude achieved in the last five to ten years.
2. Acceptance of social work by the man on the street although he still protests many of its methods.
3. Tremendous expansion of public social ser-

vices including the social insurances and public assistance.

4. The alliance of labor and social work.
5. The extension of social work skills into new areas of performance.
6. The great expansion of recreation and group work resources for the Armed Forces and for civilians, particularly for youth.
7. The development of international relief structures.
8. The renewed emphasis upon social planning and social action.

A COOPERATIVE PROGRAM FOR RURAL MEDICAL CARE

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IN A program which has received but scant attention, more than half a million rural people are participating in prepayment medical care plans employing the insurance principle, organized under government auspices with the active cooperation of the medical profession. As an exceptional example of cooperative and democratic effort in a field where conflict of interests has seemed to make authoritarian measures inevitable, this program has significance which far transcends the extent of its present services. Additional significance springs from the recently projected experimental extension of the program in six selected rural areas for the exploratory application of methods which might be used in the postwar period to provide health insurance protection on a voluntary basis for the entire rural population.

The program had its beginnings in 1935 as one of the tools devised by the Resettlement Administration for its attack on rural poverty. In addition to its efforts to remove disadvantaged farm families from submarginal land and the relief rolls and place them where they could gain a permanent holding in agriculture, the Resettlement Administration carried on the efforts begun by state and national relief agencies to rehabilitate "in place" such families as occupied farm units capable of providing an adequate base for family living. Low-cost credit, cooperative organization, education in farm technology, assistance in farm and home planning, and technical supervision were some of the aids extended to individual farm

families through this part of the program. It was early found that where failures occurred despite these services, the cause was frequently traceable to ill health—physical defects, accidents, chronic illnesses, or the sudden disabling attack of disease.

Investigation of a number of rehabilitation borrowers who failed to make their loan payments on schedule disclosed that nearly half of them were suffering from malaria, hernia, abscessed teeth, or some other serious illness. Often they had never been able to afford proper medical care, and in other cases they defaulted on their loan payments because they had used what little money they possessed to meet urgent medical expenses.¹ In Texas and Oklahoma, questionnaires were sent to 43,000 families on the rehabilitation program. Out of 16,000 cases of serious illness, less than half had doctors' care. Only one out of three births was attended by a physician. Yet, these families owed doctors' bills totalling nearly half a million dollars. A survey of borrower families in Michigan showed that one out of every five who failed to make a go of farming in 1940, failed mainly because of ill health. In the same year, physical examinations were given to over 11,000 persons in borrower families in 17 states. Only four out of every hundred persons—men, women, and children—were found to be in "excellent" health. There was an average of three and a half defects per person, ranging from bad teeth or varicose veins, to rickets

¹ *Report of the Administrator, Farm Security Administration, 1939.*

and hernia and pelvic disorder in women and heart disease and peptic ulcer.²

It was to meet such needs as these that the medical care program was undertaken. In the absence of any body of knowledge or experience on which to draw, the activities of the Resettlement Administration proceeded at first on a trial and error basis. The first plans put into effect varied widely in many features. Some were organized as legal corporations, others as farmers' cooperatives, still others operated without formal organizations of any kind. Some arranged for service through cooperation with county medical societies. Others employed physicians for the service of members, or contracted for service with groups of physicians. Throughout this formative period, there was increasing consultation with the organized medical profession at county, state, and national levels in planning for an adequate program.

When the Farm Security Administration inherited the responsibilities of the Resettlement Administration in 1937, medical care was made an integral part of a national program in which rural rehabilitation, rather than resettlement, was the major purpose. Continued constructive relations with the medical profession have resulted in a policy of close cooperation between the field personnel of the Farm Security Administration and the county and state medical societies. The understanding has grown that the FSA will not introduce any plan against the opposition of the local authorized medical society and that the medical societies will work with the FSA in the development of plans which are adapted to the needs of the rural indigent who are receiving FSA assistance. Through this cooperation, group health care has been extended to more than a third of all counties in the United States, serving more than 103,000 farm families, or 549,000 persons.³

Under procedures now well established, a memorandum of understanding is concluded by the FSA and the state medical association before a medical care plan is set up in any state. County agreements based on this understanding are then reached between the FSA and the local medical societies. Though varying in details, all plans are founded on these basic principles: (1) Each family has free choice of its physician from among those

participating; (2) Fees are paid by every participating family at the beginning of the operating period and are held by a bonded trustee; (3) Fees are based upon the families' ability to pay.

Services provided in the plans usually include: (1) ordinary medical care, including examination, diagnosis, and treatment in the home or in the office of the physician; (2) obstetrical care, including prenatal and postnatal care; (3) ordinary drugs; (4) emergency surgery; (5) emergency hospitalization.

The amount paid by the participating family varies from county to county, according to the nature and extent of the services provided, the average farm family income, and other local factors. A typical payment schedule in a low-income county is \$18 annually for man and wife, plus \$1 for each child, the maximum being \$26 per family.

Dental services may be a part of the medical care plan or may be provided in a separate plan. In Arkansas, for example, 40 counties established separate dental care plans through which a family obtains emergency dental treatment, simple fillings, extractions, prophylaxis, and cleaning at a cost of \$4 a year for the man and wife and \$0.50 for each child.

Fees are paid in advance and are pooled. If a family is unable to make the required payment out of the regular income, the needed amount may be added to the rehabilitation loan it receives from the FSA, to be repaid with interest over a stated period. From the pooled fees, an amount varying from \$0.50 to \$1 a family is deducted for administrative expenses. From the balance, a proper amount is allocated for hospitalization and emergency needs, including surgical care, and the remainder is divided into 12 equal parts, one for each month, for the payment of doctors' bills.

Physicians' bills, rendered to the trustee monthly, are reviewed by a committee of the local medical society and either approved or disapproved. If the month's allotment is large enough to cover all approved bills, they are paid in full. If not, each doctor is paid an amount proportionate to the services he rendered that month. If the allotment in any month exceeds the amount of the bills to be paid, the surplus is carried forward to the next month or to the end of the period and used to complete payment of old bills. The books are closed at the end of each year, and no obligations are carried over into the new year.

The FSA medical care program has met with no

² Data in this paragraph are taken from an unpublished Memoranda, Farm Security Administration.

³ *What the FSA Has Done*, Farm Security Administration (November, 1943).

significant opposition. In some localities there has been a failure to achieve the cooperation between the agency and the medical society necessary for establishment of a plan, but this has been exceptional. There was, at first, some degree of skepticism that the plans would "work," principally taking the form of fear that families thus enabled to call a doctor at any time without additional cost would abuse the privilege. In practice, abuses have been rare, and families taking part have asked only normal and necessary attention.

The demonstrated advantages of the plans are many. Physicians are satisfied that the program meets the basic principle laid down by the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association determining its policy on medical care: "All features of medical service in any method of medical practice should be under the control of the medical profession." The agreement between the FSA and the local medical society provides for professional control in keeping with this principle, and to protect the interests of the participating families, also provides for termination of the agreement if conditions unsatisfactory to either side should arise. Moreover, doctors receive prompt, if not always full, payment for services to families which in the past have often been able to pay little, if anything.

The advantages to the participating families are obvious. Since it has paid in advance for medical care, a family has no reason to wait until an illness becomes critical before calling a doctor. Nor need a family hesitate to call a doctor because of a previously unpaid bill. The plan also serves the purpose of insurance against bankruptcy which might result from serious or emergency illness in any one family.

A survey conducted by A. M. Simons, Assistant Director of the Bureau of Medical Economics of the American Medical Association, in 1942 affords conclusive evidence of the acceptability of this kind of medical care program to the medical profession.⁴ Mr. Simons reports, among other things, that there is general agreement in the state and county medical societies that the income classes included in these plans were not previously receiving proper medical care, and that the physicians who had cared for them in the past received little for the

services supplied. Answers to a question as to the attitude of the profession in counties where the plan has operated constituted a favorable vote of nearly 4 to 1. Twenty-one out of twenty-eight state medical association secretaries reported that the participating families were receiving more and better, or at least earlier, medical care than they had received before introduction of the plan, and there was almost a unanimity of opinion that the participating physicians were receiving more money under the FSA plan than they had been able to collect from the same body of patients previously.

There has been unfavorable criticism, too, principally directed against particulars in the operation of a plan. Mr. Simons reports:

In the first plans, loans of as low as \$14 to \$20 per family annually were common, and the total sum was distributed on a 'unit system,' with basic fees sometimes amounting to only 50 or 60 per cent, or even less, of the prevailing fee schedule. Later plans increased this schedule, but there are still many complaints of insufficient pay. Two excuses have been offered for such insufficient payment: (1) the appropriations [by Congress to the FSA] fix a limit [to FSA loan funds], and (2) many of these farm families are semi-indigent and would be cared for by physicians for little or no pay. Neither of these explanations can be considered adequate, but any financial differences are subjects for bargaining and adjustment.

Mr. Simons' survey indicated, too, that in the opinion of some, probably a very small minority, improved economic conditions have eliminated the need for such plans. Were this attitude held generally in the profession, it would effectually estop not only this but any other voluntary program for continued security against the hazards of illness and disability.

In his report of criticisms, Mr. Simons continues:

There was in the beginning a lack of any clear definition of the medical care to be given and an absence of any competent and authoritative professional agency to decide disputes as to such limits. There have been some complaints of an excessive demand for medical services shortly after medical plans have been established, especially for preexisting conditions, while, on the other hand, some medical societies comment on the cooperation of the patients in restricting their demands to actual needs.

The merits of the Farm Security Administration have been hotly debated in Congress and the pro-

⁴ "Medical Service Plans of the Farm Security Administration," A. M. Simons, report to Annual Conference of Secretaries and Editors of Constituent Medical Associations (November 21, 1942).

gram has recently been modified by restrictive legislation. The Act appropriating funds for its program for the fiscal year, 1944, prohibited "the making of loans for the payment of dues to or the purchase of any share or stock interest in any co-operative association," but significantly "medical, dental, or hospital services" were specifically exempt from this prohibition.⁵

In addition to its sponsorship of medical care plans in counties where none exist to serve low income farm families, the Farm Security Administration has followed the policy of cooperating with similar plans initiated by state and county medical societies wherever possible. A notable example is the California Physicians Service. This organization has established a Rural Service Department to provide care for all FSA families.

Under the California plan, annual payments are graduated according to the size of the family from \$20 for one adult to \$60 for a family of three or more. In addition, the patient pays \$1.50 for the first home call. Also the first \$5 for drugs is paid by the patient. The participating family receives general medical care, somewhat limited as to adult chronic cases. X-ray and laboratory services are provided subject to special authorization by the Medical Director of the California Physicians Service. Ward service in a hospital is given for twenty-one days while the patient is under the care of a member doctor. No dental care is provided.

After an experimental period in which this service was restricted to a few counties, it was decided to extend the plan to the entire state. Dr. A. E. Larsen, Secretary and Medical Director of the California Physicians Service, is reported by Mr. Simons as saying:

The decision to extend this contract throughout the state and to procure an active campaign of enrollment of additional families was made as a result of complete satisfaction on the part of the medical profession in the state as a whole. The action of the California Physicians Service board of trustees in entering into this field was approved and commended by the House of Delegates of the California Medical Association at their meeting in May 1942, and further confirmation has been given by the Council of the California Medical Association for the extension of this program.

Another variant of the standard FSA plan is the special provision made for health care of migrant

farm workers. The insanitary conditions under which the migrant workers, flooding the harvest areas in the middle 1930's, were compelled to live presented health hazards, not only to themselves, but to the communities through which they passed, and the problem received national attention. Since 1938, medical care for seasonal agricultural workers has been provided through "agricultural workers health and medical associations," non-profit organizations subsidized by the Farm Security Administration and administered by a board of directors representing state and local health and medical officers. The first of these was formed in California and Arizona, and others have since been established to serve agricultural workers in Florida, the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, the Pacific Northwest, and more recently the Atlantic Seaboard. Services, including necessary medical care, hospitalization, prescribed drugs, and limited dental services, are provided through farm labor centers of the War Food Administration by local doctors who serve at the center clinics or have the patients referred to them. During the season of 1941-42, these associations (except that of the Atlantic Seaboard) handled 122,017 clinic visits and, in addition, referred 40,035 serious cases to physicians and 14,678 to hospitals.

Based on the experience of the FSA medical care program, now has come the experimental intensified program in six selected counties under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture to find, if possible, a pattern for a wholly adequate system of medical care for rural people. The counties are: Hamilton in Nebraska; Wheeler and Cass in Texas; Nevada in Arkansas; Newton in Mississippi; and Walton in Georgia. The program was initiated in 1942, and results of an indicative nature are not yet available. The initial plan of operations, expected to be modified with experience, can, however, be discussed. The program is under the sponsorship of the Interbureau Coordinating Committee on Postwar Programs. The Farm Security Administration serves in an advisory capacity and certain responsibilities for administration have been delegated to its national and field personnel. The Committee has undertaken to follow the policy laid down by the FSA of constant consultation and cooperation with the medical profession through its constituent organizations.

The new experimental county plans differ from the medical care plans of the FSA in three major features: (1) they are not limited to FSA borrowers

⁵ *The Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1944 (Public Law 129, 78th Congress, 1st Session).*

but are open to all farm families; (2) they offer more extensive services; and (3) to provide this extended service, they make use of Federal subsidies.

Under these plans, local farmers organize an incorporated association to handle all financial and administrative matters except those reserved to the medical profession, pursuant to the policy that "all strictly medical aspects of the program should be left to the professional groups concerned, while matters of business management will ordinarily be the responsibility of the farmers' organizations."⁶ The members of the farmers' association elect a board of directors which has full power in the appointment and control of the paid executive and his staff. The medical societies concerned set schedules of fees and appoint committees having full authority to approve or disapprove all professional bills.

Participation fees are adjusted to each family's ability to pay, approximating 6 percent of annual income, with a maximum of between \$50 and \$60 a family, depending upon its size. The income thus derived is insufficient to cover the medical services provided, and the difference is made up by a federal subsidy. As in the FSA plans, each family chooses its doctor and dentist from among those participating in the program.

Services offered are:

- (1) Physicians' services, including physical examinations, obstetrical care, home and office calls, treatment of emergency and chronic illnesses,

⁶ Interbureau Coordinating Committee on Postwar Programs, United States Department of Agriculture.

fracture treatment, X-ray and laboratory services, vaccinations and immunizations, and minor surgery.

- (2) Surgical and specialists' care, covering all major surgery and including emergency and corrective services.
- (3) Drugs, prescribed in accordance with U.S.P. and N.F. standards. (There is a drug quota limit of \$25 per year per family unless specially authorized.)
- (4) Hospitalization, authorized as necessary by the attending physician, for a maximum of 10 days. Included are special diagnostic and therapeutic procedures such as basal metabolism tests, electrocardiograms, oxygen therapy, blood transfusions, and X-ray and radium treatments, to the extent provided by available hospital facilities; also routine drugs, dressings, X-rays, and ordinary nursing care. Anesthesia for both minor and major surgery is included, as well as use of the operating room.
- (5) Dental care, including examination and cleaning, X-ray when necessary in examination, extractions, prophylactic treatment. Special emphasis is given protective work, especially for children.

The mobility of the farm population in war time undoubtedly works against the perfection of local prepayment plans for medical care, and it would be no surprise to discover, upon analysis, that the programs here described had suffered some disturbance. On the other hand, they were undertaken and are being continued most opportunely in view of the rising public demand for health protection as a part of any postwar program for domestic security. They point the way to rational and cooperative solution of major problems.

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

It is planned that the ninth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on March 23 and 24, at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel. A series of work conferences is being arranged around the general theme of *The Place of Sociology in Education*. These meetings will bring to members of the Society the fruits of the work of their Commission on the Teaching of Sociology, which is completing a three-year project made possible by assistance from the General Education Board. Dr. Wayland J. Hayes is chairman of the Commission. The varied interests of members of the Society will be arranged for also by section meetings and general sessions devoted to public welfare relations, research, race and culture, and especially to sociological concerns in the postwar South. Program details are still in formulation, and suggestions will be welcomed. Certainly the spring of 1945 will be a time when sociologists in the South can be of much help to each other as they face their challenge to be of service in emergent peace.

HOWARD W. BEERS, *President*

ANALYSIS OF FACE SHEET DATA IN ONE YEAR'S INTAKE AT A SMALL FAMILY AGENCY

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GENERAL BACKGROUND

THE data presented here were secured from the face sheets of the Family Service Bureau of Muskegon, Michigan, a private family agency in a war-boom, industrial, midwestern city of 75,000 located half way up the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. In order to have more meaning the material presented should be viewed against the following brief historical background.

This family agency is one of the youngest in the country, having been established in 1938 when its first social worker was hired to serve both as executive and caseworker. It was organized primarily to provide consultations on personal and family problems to those clients of the public relief agencies who needed such help and to other members of the community who were not on public assistance rolls. The agency had only one worker for several years and no relief funds.

From October 1, 1942 to October 1, 1943, the period covered by this study, the agency had two workers including the executive and about \$200 earmarked for relief. This amount was only one quarter of one percent of the total budget. It was not until January 1942 that there were any funds at all for this purpose when \$5 per month was allocated. The agency has not been looked upon by the community in general nor by its clients as a relief organization.

In March 1943 it took over the travelers aid work at the request of a group work agency which had been handling it. About the same time the problem of day care of children of working mothers became acute. Various individuals and groups in the community speculated about what needed to be done. As a result of two surveys by the joint Day Care Committee of the Social Planning Council and the Office of Civilian Defense, the War Chest seriously considered spending \$10,000 to set up four day care centers. Before any money was spent all the social agencies including the War Chest unanimously requested that the family agency establish a foster day care service to see

* During the period covered by this study the writer was the Executive Secretary of the Muskegon Family Service Bureau.

what the practice really would reveal. The community felt that the family agency was the only one qualified to undertake this project. The other agencies kindly consented to restrict referrals whenever possible except for day care cases during the two months it took to set up this new program. The program included finding, approving, and supervising day care homes; establishing fees and handling all the fiscal administration; placing children in approved homes; serving as a community information center on all matters relating to day care.

Practice revealed the continued need for a few day care homes to be supplemented by only one small congregate center which could be established in a church basement for about \$500. Thus, while providing a new and needed service the family agency played an important role in saving the community \$9,500.

This historical review points rather clearly to the sensitivity to community needs possessed by private family agencies. It also indicates their flexibility in being able to undertake practically any new problem in the casework field, at least on an experimental basis or until other resources can be mobilized to meet the need.

THE STUDY

The Family Service Bureau developed a simplified face sheet which called only for those data which experience had shown had a specific bearing on its work. The face sheet had the following headings all on one side of the page: surname; address; telephone; case number; first names, marital status, birth date, occupation and earnings (or school grade) for all members of the family; problem as referred (space for brief statement by client or referral source of not more than three lines); S.S.E. registrations.

After a careful survey of the data it was decided to extract the following eight items: Number of Cases, Problem as Referred, Source of Referral, Age of Applicant, Sex of Applicant, Family Composition in the Home, Occupation of Main Support of Family, Income of Main Support of Family.

I. Number of Cases: 188.

II. Problem as Referred: Out of its practice the

agency has developed fifteen classifications and these are used in the study.

| | |
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| Marital difficulty in families with children..... | 27 |
| Marital difficulty in childless families.... | 3 |
| Single adult in for consultation..... | 7 |
| Economic difficulty (budgeting and relief)..... | 22 |
| Child dependency..... | 1 |
| Child delinquency..... | 4 |
| Child neglect..... | 1 |
| General behavior difficulty of children... | 4 |
| Child placement (request for day care or boarding care)..... | 41 |
| Medical..... | 3 |
| Out of town inquiry..... | 9 |
| Offer of day care home..... | 22 |
| Offer of boarding home..... | 2 |
| Travelers aid..... | 17 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 25 |

It must be understood that the above classification is for presenting problems or for referral. Later work with the client might reveal that the referral problem was a disguise for a different or more serious problem. This sometimes was apparent in a mother who would come to the agency requesting day care for her children so she could be patriotic and take a war job. This request might turn out to be the first step in a conscious or unconscious attempt to separate from her husband. In general, however, the agency has found it both practical for statistical purposes and helpful to diagnostic thinking to classify the cases under major type of problem as referred.

Questions may be raised that despite the detailed classification a relatively large number of cases are labeled *Miscellaneous*. This is due to the generic nature of the services provided by family agencies which cover many types of problems. This wide variety of problems usually does not lend itself readily to classification and statistical analysis particularly in a sample as small as this one.

The following random selection of *Problem as Referred* quoted from the records illustrates this: "Husband is brilliant engineer who never held steady job, is violently opposed to U.S. and Britain and is possibly mentally ill"; "Father is patient at state hospital. Oldest son supporting family and mother wants him deferred from Army for at least six months so that they can pay accumulated bills"; "Mr. K. stays in his room at the YMCA. Upset, been crying, can't remember anything"; "Mrs. W having marital difficulty; needs place to

live, employment, medical care." This last one had four specific major problems and was listed under *Miscellaneous* as it would have been statistically inaccurate to place it in one of the other classifications.

Another point that bears attention is that 24 of the clients came to offer services instead of to request them. Twenty-two offered their homes for day care, 2 offered them for full-time boarding care. These clients went through the same intake procedure and study that other clients did.

III. Source of Referral: Referred by other agencies: 96; self-referred: 65; other sources of referral (ministers, physicians, former clients, etc.): 24; source of referral not known: 3. The relatively large number of clients who were self-referred is accounted for in part by the frequent and excellent news stories in the two local papers which interpreted the agency as a place where anybody could go to discuss personal or family problems.

IV. Age of Applicant: Organization of these data created a minor difficulty in that not all of the cases had applicants in the general meaning of the term. Some were out of town requests for investigations or social histories from prisons or other agencies, and others were requests for service from travelers aid associations. There were 26 of these two types of cases but in 7 of them the client or some member of his family also made direct application and these were included in the age breakdown. In the other 19 the only applicant was the referring agency.

In the 169 cases where direct application was made by the client the age breakdown is as follows: 15-19 years of age: 8, 20-29: 49, 30-39: 46, 40-49: 20, over 50: 20, unknown: 26. The youngest client applying directly was an 18 year old divorcee; the oldest, an 82 year old woman with senile dementia who came to the community looking for a grandson-in-law who actually lived in another city. Ninety-five or more than half of the applicants were between 20 and 40 years old.

V. Sex of Applicants: 125 females, 44 males.

VI. Family Composition in the Home: Of the 188 cases, 136 had children living at home. One hundred and fourteen of these were complete family units including both parents and one or more children at home. Of the remaining 74 cases, 56 were incomplete family units where at least one marital partner was out of the home, 3 were childless couples, 7 were single adults, 2 where the children were grown up and gone, and in 1 case both parents were confined in a tuberculosis

hospital. Miscellaneous:¹ 3. Family composition unknown: 2.

The 56 broken homes were classified as follows: Father out of the home totaled 50 including, separated or divorced: 19, armed services:² 11, prisons: 9, deceased: 9, mental hospital: 1, tuberculosis hospital: 1. Mother out of the home totaled 6 including, separated or divorced: 2, mental hospital: 1, deceased: 1, tuberculosis hospital: 1, general hospital: 1.

The small number of cases with husbands in the services may indicate several things or a combination of them. These are that during the period covered by this study fewer married men were in the armed forces than we have been led to believe; agencies like the Red Cross and Army Emergency Relief were handling many types of cases that in times of peace would ordinarily go to the family agency; families of servicemen did not know of the services available in the private family agency or did not need or want such services.

VII. Occupation of Main Support of the Family: Where both husband and wife were employed the husband's occupation was used. When the husband was out of the home the wife's occupation was used. Total employed: 143. These were classified into manual or factory work: 90, white collar, business, and commercial trades: 13, farmers: 4, professional: 2, executives: 2, unknown: 32. Total unemployed: 44. Not on relief: 27, on relief: 16, social insurance: 1.

Although two-thirds of the total employed were manual or factory workers this proportion is somewhat below that of the general working population of the community where an estimated 80-90 percent fall into this category. However, the thirty-two cases where occupation was unknown were undoubtedly primarily in this group. The relatively large number of unemployed revealed by the statistics was surprising and may indicate that even the greatest employment boom in our national

history has not completely solved the unemployment problem. Fifteen or one-third of the unemployed were mothers receiving aid to dependent children under the social security program and only one client was on general relief.

VIII. Monthly Income of Employed Main Support of Family: \$50-99: 5, \$100-149: 20, \$150-199: 19, \$200-249: 18, \$250-299: 7, \$300-499: 10, over \$500: 2, unknown: 62. The lowest known income was a farm laborer earning \$70; the highest, for a war plant engineer earning \$916. Since this agency served a cross section of the community these findings indicate that alleged high war wages are a myth and that the majority of the employed population earned less than \$3000 per year.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Through a breakdown of face sheet information this paper intended to give a picture of the kind of clients that came to a small, midwestern, non-relief giving, private family agency during one year of war. Although there were gaps in the data which blur that picture somewhat, a few conclusions follow.³

Forty-one or over one-fifth of the total intake of 188 cases applied for child placement generally in a day care home. This was the largest single classification of referral problems. Thirty came requesting help with problems of marital discord, 22 applied for relief or budget help and 24 came to offer their services as foster mothers.

Although the large bulk of clients was referred by other agencies, 65 or one-third were self-referred. This proportion of self-referred appears unusually large for a family agency. Ninety-five or more than half of the applicants where the age was known were between 20 and 40; about three-quarters of all applicants were women. Fifty-six or less than one-third were cases of broken homes. Twenty-one of these were broken by divorce or separation but only 11 or about one-seventeenth

¹ E.g. client temporarily living in married daughter's home.

² The writer's experience indicates that limiting the determination of broken homes to the traditional criteria of death or marital breakup is questionable because even though parental separation is "temporary" the psychological effect on the children and the marital partners is most important. See, James H. S. Bossard's two recent papers: "The Family in Past Wars," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Sept. 1943), and "Family Problems in Wartime," *Psychiatry* (Feb. 1944).

³ In some of the short contact travelers aid cases securing complete face sheet data was neither feasible nor therapeutically indicated. That it is important to secure such information on all other types of cases and keep it accurate and up-to-date during the course of treatment should be obvious. Among other things, completely filled out face sheets will facilitate brief analyses of this kind which determine in part what we are doing and the kind of clients we are serving, without having to wade through a mass of processed recording in these busy days of all-out production on the social work front.

of the entire intake were homes broken because the husband was in the armed services.

Further analysis reveals that of 143 cases where the main support of the family was employed approximately two-thirds were manual or factory workers. In forty-four or almost one quarter of the cases the main support of the family was unemployed but less than half of these were on relief. In the 81 cases of the employed group where income was known it ranged from \$70 to \$916 per month

with about three-quarters earning \$100-250. Thus, the great majority of the employed clients earned less than \$3000 per year.

It might be worthwhile to make studies similar to this one in agencies with a larger intake which would permit treatment of the data by statistical methods which could not be employed here. Such studies repeated in the same agencies annually or biannually could provide valuable information regarding trends of services.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE PUBLISHES DIRECTORY OF PSYCHIATRIC CLINICS IN UNITED STATES

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene announced today the publication of a new directory of psychiatric clinics and related facilities in the United States, with special reference to rehabilitation needs of veterans.

This directory is broader in scope than any previous ones, according to the Committee. It is primarily for medical officers and other professional staff in the armed forces and the American Red Cross, who advise men about to be discharged regarding sources for psychiatric treatment and related services. It is also for the use of professional workers in civilian agencies in advising clients or referring persons to agencies in any part of the country. The directory lists state-wide facilities, such as state hospitals and other institutions for the mentally handicapped, state departments dealing with clinics, state societies for mental hygiene, Veterans Administration neuropsychiatric hospitals, and Veterans Administration regional offices; community psychiatric clinics and other resources, listed by state and city; family welfare societies; councils of social agencies; American Red Cross Home Service agencies, etc.

* * *

WAR DEPARTMENT CREATES CORRECTION DIVISION

The War Department on September 11, 1944 established a Correction Division in the Office of The Adjutant General to coordinate and standardize the rehabilitation and control of all military prisoners.* The new agency has staff jurisdiction over the Army's disciplinary barracks, rehabilitation centers, post stockades and guardhouses, as well as installations for the detention and rehabilitation of general and garrison prisoners in overseas theaters of operation.

Colonel Marion Rushton, Administrative Officer in the Office of the Under Secretary of War, was named Director of the Division.

Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson sponsored the proposal to activate a strong, centralized system and was assisted in developing and establishing the new organization by Austin H. McCormick, consultant to the Under Secretary of War and Executive Director of The Osborne Association, Inc.

"The mission of each detention and rehabilitation establishment," said the Under Secretary in commenting on the newly created Correction Division, "is to restore to honorable status in the Army those prisoners who demonstrate their fitness for further service, and to provide those to be discharged because of their unfitness a program of training which will help them to meet more successfully the duties and obligations of good citizens."

"All prisoners believed at the time of sentence to be reclaimable," the Under Secretary continued, "are sent to rehabilitation centers. Prisoners suffering from mental or neurological disorders, as well as intractable offenders and those convicted of the more serious offenses, are committed to the disciplinary barracks or one of the Federal prisons. At each place of confinement the individual capacities, skills, potentialities, and needs of the prisoner are studied. Those considered to be restorable engage in a program of intensive military training designed to meet the demands of military service. Upon restoration, each soldier is classified and assigned to duty according to his previous experience and military skills."

At present the War Department operates 10 institutions for general prisoners in the United States, including 2 maximum-security and 2 medium-security disciplinary barracks, and 6 rehabilitation centers. Two additional medium-security disciplinary barracks are being activated.

A Board of Consultants composed of civilian authorities in the correctional field is being established to assist the Correction Division in setting and maintaining high standards. Military personnel with successful civilian experience in correctional work are being assigned in increasing numbers in the institutions and at headquarters.

The headquarters of the Correction Division is in the Pentagon Building, Washington, D. C.

* Military prisoners are not to be confused with prisoners of war who are under the jurisdiction of the Provost Marshal General. Military prisoners are those who have been convicted of offenses under the Articles of War.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SOME EFFECTS OF TWO YEARS OF WAR ON A RURAL COMMUNITY*

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IT IS impossible to measure quantitatively the effects of the war on a community. War influences affecting a locality group can scarcely be isolated from other influences impinging on it. Changes in the life of a group would be occurring even though there were no war. No techniques are available whereby changes arising from the war situation and changes that would occur normally may be disassociated from each other. Therefore, a discussion of the effects of the war on a community can only indicate those changes that have taken place during the war accompanied by inferences as to whether these changes are related to influences that are fairly closely associated with the war.

It was with this viewpoint that the following three-fold objective for this study was formulated: (1) to indicate population changes which have occurred in the two years 1942-1943 and relate these to possible influences of the war; (2) to indicate changes in community organization, services, and industries that have occurred in the two year period and relate these to possible influences of the war; and (3) to indicate changes in family life and activities that have occurred within the two years and relate these to possible influences of the war.

The Valley Community is located in the mountains of northeast Georgia. The Little Tennessee River has its origin on the mountain slopes that border the community. The soil on the floor of the river valley is black and rich. On the low

foothills of the mountains and the upper levels of the coves the soil is a sandy-clay which, while often cultivated, is poorly adapted to agriculture. Farming is predominantly self-sufficient, although within recent years truck farming has increased.

The community has a well-defined status in the county, frequently being referred to as the county's best agricultural area. Its citizens are particularly proud of their moral reputation, for unlike several communities along the main highway, there are no "juke joints" or roadhouses, and "moonshine" activity is less prominent than it is in some other communities in the county. The Valley's population is markedly homogeneous and stable. There is only one Negro family in the area. Kinship ties are numerous. Almost two-thirds of the families own their homes, and many of them have lived in the community ever since they were formed. Indeed, a considerable proportion of both husbands and wives were born in the community area. Attachment to the land is unusually strong. Repeated subdivision of farms through inheritance has resulted in a high degree of population density. Class cleavages are fairly vague and do not appear to have great significance. The occupational situation also makes for uniformity; almost four-fifths of the families are engaged in farming.

Forty years ago the Valley was an isolated community. Since that time transportation by rail and highway has brought the area into closer touch with the outside world. A number of summer houses have been built in the community and there are several tourist homes for summer visitors. A mountain school has developed into a junior college with an adult program for farm tenants. The

* A condensation of a paper read before the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, March 31, 1944.

extreme isolation of former times has been broken down by these influences, but for many families a high degree of isolation still prevails.

Wars have always been disturbing influences even though the battlefield may be remote. They create unrest; new issues are raised; the tempo of living is speeded up; populations are uprooted, etc. The story of what has happened to the Valley Community under the impact of World War II may be the story of many rural communities which are somewhat removed from the immediate influences of nearby war industries and military training centers.

POPULATION CHANGES AS RELATED TO THE WAR

The estimated population of the community at the end of 1941 was 1,120. At the end of 1943, it was 1,138,¹ an increase of 18, or 1.6 percent, for the two-year period. According to the best estimate that could be made, this gain was entirely the result of excess of births over deaths, which was approximately 42 for the two-year period. The number of in-migrants during 1942-43 was 145 and the number of out-migrants 169.² Thus the net loss through migration was 24 persons. Obviously here is a community that is attracting people almost as rapidly as others leave and doing this in wartime when the armed services are absorbing young adults and when patriotic appeal as well as high wages might be expected to attract considerable numbers to war industries.³

¹ Estimates are based on data obtained during field investigation. The 1943 estimate is not based on data secured as of a given date but over a period of approximately 2.5 months. The nature of the data was such that the estimate for 1941 population is probably too low. In any case the increase of 18 would not be likely to drop to a decrease. Students from outside the community living in the dormitories of the junior college are not included in these estimates.

² The out-migrants may be slightly underestimated as there were several families for which accurate data on children leaving home were not obtained; but, even had the data been obtained, the figure of 169 would probably have been increased by only three or four. In addition, there may have been two or three out-migrant children who left home during 1942-43 but who died after leaving home. No attempt was made to obtain data for such cases.

³ It should be noted, however, that patriotic appeals for greater production in agriculture and military deferments for those engaged in farming are war influences that may have counteracted to some degree the influences leading to out-migration.

The 145 in-migrants consisted of 27 family groups and 10 individuals. Five of the 10 individuals were school teachers and five were persons who came to live with relatives. Of the 27 family heads 17 were farmers, 9 nonfarmers, and the occupation of one is unknown.⁴

Approximately 169 persons moved out of the community during 1942 and 1943. Thirteen of these were school teachers, 67 were grouped into 16 families, 12 of which were farm families, two non-farm, and two unknown as to occupational class.⁵ The remaining 89 were children (primarily young adults) from families living in the community during 1942-43.

Among the out-migrants were 13 teachers for whom no data were obtained as to their present location or occupation, but this information was obtained for most of the families and young adults who had left during 1942-1943. Six of 15 families which have emigrated and for which data were obtained as to present location are now living in Rabun County and four are in counties adjacent to Rabun; the remaining five families are living at more distant places. Data as to the present occupation of family heads were obtained for 12 of the 16 emigrant families; three are farmers; five are war workers; one is a truck driver for the county highway department; one is employed in the produce business; one works at "public work"; and one is a housekeeper.⁶ Apparently, war industry has attracted only a small number of families from the community.

During 1942-43, 94 children left home, but only 5 of these remained in the community and only 12, or 12.8 percent, remained in the home community or moved to some other part of the county or into an adjacent county. An indication of what these individuals are now doing provides the explanation for this. Of the 94 children who left their homes in 1942 and 1943, 74.5 percent are either in the armed services or in a war industry.

⁴ For in-migrant family heads who are still living in the community their present occupation was used in making this classification; for those who have left the community their occupation while there was used.

⁵ This occupational classification of out-migrant families is based on the occupation of family heads at the time the family was living in the community.

⁶ Although specific occupational information was not obtained on two other family heads, it is certain that one of the two was not engaged in war work, while the information available indicates that the other was so occupied.

The real drain, however, has been to the armed services for, of the total, only 12.8 percent are employed in war industry, whereas 61.7 percent are in the armed services. This distribution between the armed services and war industry suggests that the young adults of the community have had little training or experience to condition them to any appeal that industry now offers.

The significant aspects of the foregoing population changes are the relatively stable level of the community's population in the midst of wartime migration pulls and the relatively small number of families and young adults who have gone to war industries.

CHANGES IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, SERVICES, AND INDUSTRIES AS RELATED TO THE WAR⁷

The community's public school has not been seriously affected by the war. Enrollment has not declined. The faculty has been reduced slightly, but the educational level of the group has improved. A few curriculum changes reflecting wartime interests have been made. Physics, a pre-introductory course in the fundamentals of machinery, chemistry, and typing have been added to the curriculum and Spanish was introduced but subsequently dropped. From time to time the school has participated in various war programs, such as Red Cross drives, collection of scrap, and sale of war stamps; however, these programs have been handled with a minimum of organized effort. There have been brief interruptions of the usual school routine for the distribution of rationing books, but the training given high school students in distributing the books was probably more valuable than any losses from routine classwork. A Victory Corps has been organized among school children; it has served to lift school morale for a time, given impetus to the study of nutrition, and created a temporary interest in drills and games. During the 1942-43 term, the schedule of the school's basket ball teams was reduced by half, and in the late fall of 1943 no plans had been made for any inter-school games.

The junior college has suffered a severe decline in its enrollment since the war began and its faculty has lost two members. During the winter of

⁷ The Valley Community is distinctly a farming locality group. Many of the public and private services which a fully developed community furnishes are absent; to obtain these services the people must go to the county seat.

1942-43, farmers in the community were invited to attend classes at the college's workshop for instruction in repairing machinery. These classes met two afternoons each week with approximately 50 men enrolled. For some time, folk games have been provided by the college one night each week. These games are attended primarily by young people from the community and by boarding students in the college. So far the war has not required that this recreational activity be discontinued or restricted.

The effect of the war on the churches has been relatively insignificant. Finances in each of the community's six churches have improved slightly. Two churches reported that their attendance had declined since the war, two reported an increase, and two claimed to have about the same attendance. A survey of a large group of husbands and wives indicated that the proportion which was attending preaching service less regularly than before the war was sufficiently large to suggest influences arising from the war. The war activities of the churches have been relatively few. The missionary societies have made and filled Red Cross kits. One church was held a service twice a year since the war began in honor of the men in the armed forces; another had an all-day service to dedicate its service flag and the Christian flag. Two churches have attempted to maintain contact with service men by sending them postal cards and religious literature.

Special interest groups have always been few in the community and short-lived. While at the end of 1943 the number of these groups was slightly larger than before the war, the increase cannot be attributed to war influences. The discontinuing of one rather informal organization appears to have been due to wartime conditions.⁸

An outstanding feature of the community's culture is the informal manner in which people work together on community enterprises. Organizational structures are difficult to maintain and in enterprises involving the entire community are either ignored or never developed. Ministers find it difficult to organize or maintain organizations in the churches. In the past, community leaders have attempted several community-wide organizations; these have flourished for a time, but after the initial interest has worn off, the organizations became difficult to maintain and gradually disinte-

⁸ Interest groups in the public school are not included in this discussion.

grated. Wartime interests and programs have made little change in the traditional pattern of informal cooperation or its closely related pattern of individualistic response to common interests.

There has been almost no organized cooperation for getting farm work done. The only instance of this kind was when the vocational agricultural teacher took a group of Victory Corps boys to pick beans for one of the farmers. Although over half of a large sample of farmers reported that they were exchanging labor with their neighbors more than before the war, this exchange of labor is entirely spontaneous mutual aid, a *gemeinschaft* pattern. It is a type of cooperative action which has been practiced for years. When the war crisis is over, the intensification of the pattern will probably cease and it is doubtful that there will be any basic change in the cooperative habits and thinking of the farmers.

Early in the war period neighborhood leaders were selected by the county agent, and a few of these leaders canvassed their neighbors in the share-the-meat drive. Since that time, these leaders have functioned very little. The only money drives that have been undertaken have been for contributions to the Red Cross and the county war and community fund. A new group of workers was selected for each of these drives without any reference to the neighborhood leaders chosen by the county agent. No canvass has ever been made in the community for the sale of war bonds. Scrap drives have been publicized through the schools, the county newspaper, and letters to neighborhood leaders. The FFA Club in the public school assumed leadership for the collection of scrap metal, but otherwise the community never attempted to organize itself for the various scrap drives. The Office of Civilian Defense has undertaken almost no activities in the community. A fire warden was appointed, but no first aid courses have been given. The man who was appointed head of the food conservation program in the community made a joke of it by telling people that all who had meat would have to turn it over to the WPA.

The common interests arising out of the war crisis have done little to promote formal community organization in the Valley. It is doubtful whether the community is any more self-conscious or closely knit because of war influences than it was before the war began. With one exception, people within the various neighborhoods of the community have developed no common enterprises that they

did not have before the war. The women in one neighborhood, under the leadership of a woman who operates a handicraft shop, have organized a Victory Club which has fostered victory gardens and canning of food. While the Valley people have a consciousness of their community and a traditional pride in its relatively high status among communities in the county, the war has done little to expand or deflate this consciousness or pride. Nor has any leadership made serious attempt to utilize these psychological forces for war programs.

The war has had no serious effect on the ability of the people to secure their usual services. While two of the four gas stations which were operating before the war have closed, at least one of the remaining two stations has had an increase in its volume of business. Apparently gas rationing has not seriously interfered with the ability of people to travel to their trading places. Since the war began, there has been a slight decline in the patronage of community service establishments by residents of the area and an increase in their patronage of establishments in other communities. The closing of a small neighborhood grocery^{*} and the inability of local merchants to maintain stocks are partial explanations of this shift in trading center. The necessity for going outside the community to make purchases has probably been inconvenient for some families, but what is more significant is the fact that under wartime conditions the range of service contacts has expanded rather than contracted.

The community's one doctor reported that his practice had increased during 1942-1943. The number of cars at his office on Sundays certainly did not indicate any transportation handicap in seeking his services.

There are two small industries in the community, a combined workshop and gristmill and a spinning and weaving shop. The business of the workshop and gristmill was reported to be declining, because of transportation difficulties associated with the war. A workshop which the junior college operates is gradually absorbing the repair business of farmers. This situation and the difficulty of obtaining materials appear to be the real explanations for the decline in volume of business of the privately operated workshop.

The spinning and weaving shop is backed by private subsidy and does not attempt to operate

^{*} The discontinuing of this store does not appear to have resulted from any war influences.

for profit. A retail outlet is maintained in downtown New York, and the demand for products was reported much better than usual. The shop has experienced a shortage of trained workers because several of the young girls who were employed there have gone away. Some older married women whom the owner of the shop has organized into a Victory Club are now being trained to do the work.

CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE AND ACTIVITIES AS RELATED TO THE WAR

No marked shifts in principal occupation¹⁰ of family heads have been made since the war began. Some of the few who shifted into farming may have done so in order to obtain military deferment or to help in wartime agricultural production. A fairly large number of those who farm do work other than farming and during 1942-1943 there have been a number of shifts from one type of other-than-farm work to another. About 1.9 times as many have taken up other-than-farm work as have given up such work. Slightly more than two-fifths of the shifts in work other than farming have been into timber and sawmill work or into war jobs;¹¹ however by far the larger number have been into the former. Although the present shifts into timber and sawmill work are largely a result of the war, they have not led to any new occupational experiences because at intervals over a period of many years this type of work has been available.

The work that is done by women on farms has increased some during the war but not so much as current opinion in the community would suggest. There are indications that the children's field work had increased some.

Approximately half of the farmers claimed they had increased their production during the war. The reported increases in hired workers, in amount of work done by family workers, as well as in swapping labor with neighbors, even though some of these increases may have been to replace young adult family members who have gone to war, lend support to these claims. It should be observed,

¹⁰ The term, *principal occupation*, is not entirely accurate for several family heads whose farm operations, while small, were sufficiently large to require their classification as farm operators, but whose main source of income was from work other than farming.

¹¹ Family heads who are engaged in war work live away from their families during their periods of employment; they make occasional visits home but do not commute daily.

however, that the increases in production were undoubtedly small because most of these farmers have little machinery to supplement their hand labor.

There is evidence that the recreational activities of husbands and wives have declined except for listening to the radio. Increased work and, to a limited extent, gas rationing have been factors making for this decline. Although children have given up certain recreations, they have added others, so there has probably been no marked change in the amount of their recreational activities.

Apparently both husbands and wives are giving more attention to the expression of religion in their personal lives than they did before. Of a group of 51 husbands, 29.4 percent said they read their Bibles and/or prayed more compared with 2.0 percent who did so less. Of a group of 125 wives, 56.2 percent said they read their Bibles and/or prayed more than before the war, while only 2.0 percent claimed they did so less. Comments by those interviewed revealed that the increase in their observance of religious rites had grown out of a deep concern over the war and particularly over loved ones immediately involved in its dangers.

Family participation in various war programs has varied considerably from one program to another. However, the extent of participation may be considered remarkable in the light of the people's traditional resistance to formal organization and their tendency to leave participation to individual initiative. Only 37.8 percent of the families on whom data were secured had turned in any aluminum scrap; 51.4 percent of those on whom data were secured had turned in some rubber scrap, and 70.5 percent had contributed some scrap iron.¹² The smaller percentages making contributions to the aluminum and rubber salvage drives simply reflect the absence of these materials around many households. Only 8.3 percent of the families on whom data were obtained had turned in any fats, chiefly because they did not know about the fat salvage program and because many use their fats for food and for domestic manufacture of soap.

¹² The number of cases on whom data were secured for various war programs varied for each program. Data were obtained for fairly large samples in each instance. To avoid introducing too many figures in the text, the exact number on whom data were secured for the different programs has been omitted.

Of those on whom data were obtained, 46.1 percent had bought war stamps or bonds or both. Persons interviewed were asked about the response of their families to the share-the-meat drive, but it had been so long ago and was so ineffectively handled that the answers did not permit satisfactory tabulation. Only 27.0 percent of the families surveyed had made a contribution in the first USO drive. A considerable majority of those who had not contributed had not even heard of the drive.¹³ Of those who were asked whether they had contributed to the Red Cross since the war, 74.4 percent said they had. The last war fund drive was combined with the county's community fund campaign. The drive was not begun until about one-third of the family interviews for the study had taken place. Of those who were surveyed, 53.0 percent had made a contribution. Of those who had not given almost a third said they had not been asked, although the effort to contact all families was better organized than almost any wartime drive the community has had. After the drive was over, data were secured from the county headquarters of the war and community fund on the amounts contributed by 114 individuals living in the community. The average (mean) amount was only \$2.46; moreover, this average is somewhat affected by several fairly large contributions.

In order to have an intimate picture of how the war might be affecting family life, school children were asked by their teachers to write, following a specific outline, short essays concerning effects of the war on their families and community. The essays written by children from homes having sons in the armed services reflected the emotional strain which had been created by the absence of these members, particularly in the mothers; the added work for the members of the family left at home;¹⁴ and the increase in money income which was being used to pay off debts, buy war bonds and stamps, purchase furniture and clothes, and repair the

house. Where no member of the family was in the military services but some member or members had gone away to work, the essays reflect an increase in work for those at home¹⁵ and a larger income which is being used to pay debts, buy war bonds and stamps, buy clothes, and repair the house. For those families (usually the younger families) that have lost no members by migration, the essays point out that the family group is working harder; in some instances is experiencing financial strain because of increased cost of living; or in other cases has increased its income. A few reflect the difficulties of hiring farm labor.

CONCLUSION

The Valley Community is far enough removed from any large war industry or military training center to have experienced any serious effects of the war from these sources. Moreover, its past has been an experience of isolation accompanied by informal habits of working at common interests and by resistance to formal organization, the influences of which are sufficiently strong to prevent any marked changes in the people's fundamental ways of life, even though the nation is involved in a total war.

An appropriate summing up of the situation is the colloquial expression of the Valley people who, when asked how the war has affected their community, frequently answered, "We don't know the war is going on, except for the loss of our boys. This community ain't been affected much by the war."

When similar studies that are currently being undertaken by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics are completed, it may be possible to arrange the communities studied on a continuum representing the degree of impact of the Great Society during wartime. This arrangement together with the basic content of the studies can be expected to place in relief significant differentials in location, communication, and culture which have operated during a period when influences of the Great Society have been operating with maximum intensity.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³ No organized canvass was made of the community for contributions to this drive.

¹⁴ In view of the probable migration of young adults, an increase in work for those left at home might have occurred for some families had there been no war.

THE MINISTER: PROFESSIONAL MAN OF THE CHURCH*

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A MEASURE of the position, the changing position, of the church is to be found in the status of the minister. *Minister* is here taken to include clergymen, priests, rabbis, and recognized leaders of worship in churches. It includes the recognized professional "men of the cloth" and such other church officiants as Christian Science readers, Spiritualist mediums (where there are no clergymen), and Salvation Army officers. Webster gives as his sixth and seventh meanings for minister: "One duly authorized to serve at the altar or conduct Christian worship; one who performs sacerdotal duties, etc.; one duly authorized or licensed to preach the gospel, administer the sacraments, etc., esp., a pastor; a clergyman." "One exercising sacerdotal functions in a non-Christian religion."

In the days of colonial settlement the ministry was both functionally and by status a post of community leadership. Andrews describes the English experience of the founding clergy which served as training for their work in New Haven:¹

Every vicar of an English parish church was potentially a plantation builder, for he was more than the spiritual head of his flock, he was a participant also in the prudential and secular affairs of his parish. The administration of an English parish gave to vicar, vestry, and parishioners just the sort of experience needed to prepare them for founding a settlement on New England soil, so it is not surprising that the New England villages should have reproduced in their local practices and methods of administration many of the

details of organization and land distribution with which their founders were familiar in their previous life at home.

Colonial ministers were called Pastor, Teacher, or Elder. Later, with the coming of new denominations, other names appeared, such as Minister and Watchman.² Standing at the head of a recognized class system, reflecting the society of the mother country, ministers enjoyed an incomparable position of power and influence.³ This was in line with the summary of anthropological and sociological opinion put by Constantine Panunzio⁴: "The priesthood . . . was probably the first professional class to become articulate." Writing in 1899, Veblen placed the minister in the leisure class. "The occupations of the class are correspondingly . . . diversified; but they have the common economic characteristic of being non-industrial. Those non-industrial upper-class occupations may be roughly comprised under government, warfare, religious observances, and sports."⁵

A change had set in as early as 1790. Ministers of the last decade of the eighteenth century were less well informed, less learned, and less esteemed. "They who had ruled for a hundred and fifty years over the inmost thoughts and dreams of their people," writes Shepard, "were slowly giving way before the merchant and politician."⁶

The decline in eminence and leadership described by Shepard was to be expected. When the arts of life were few and simple, when there was (in the contemporary sense of the word) no technology with attendant specialists and professions, the ministry was a much-needed calling. The minister was the professional man par excellence. His was the only dependable learning of early colonial days;

* The considerations here presented were undertaken in order to clarify the position of the professional personnel of the church as an institution for a study of the churches of New Haven, Connecticut. The present paper has no other purpose than to sharpen the definition, concept, and understanding of minister for the examination of the institutional aspects of the church. Theology, doctrine, and other than selected social phenomena are perforce neglected.

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¹ C. M. Andrews: *The Colonial Period of American History, II: The Settlements* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 145.

² F. S. Bishop: *History of the First Baptist Church in New Haven* (New Haven, 1916), p. 13; E. B. Sanford: *A History of Connecticut* (Hartford: S. S. Scranton Co., 1922), p. 123.

³ Sanford: *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁴ *Major Social Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 294-95.

⁵ Thorstein Veblen: *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Macmillan, [1899]), p. 2.

⁶ O. Shepard: *Connecticut Past and Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), pp. 137-138.

the rest of the community knew and practiced at best mere skills.

Today the New Haven community has many sub-societies, each upon a different cultural level, each with a different religious need (a different ratio of Known to Unknown,⁷ of ponderables and imponderables, of palpable securities and impalpable insecurities); each has the ministry that its social position, cultural level, and degree of religious necessity determine. For the churches longest established, particularly the Protestant churches, these factors have reduced the importance of the ministry. For the minority churches, the ministry is comparable to that of colonial times, because it is still the chief professional aid, if not the only consistently and readily available aid, for minority peoples. This is particularly true for the more disadvantaged minorities.

As a result of increasing scientific knowledge, growth of professions, and social differentiation, the identification of the ministry with the educated, the privileged, and the powerful has suffered. Today the minister has exclusive possession of only sacerdotal practices and theological lore. He is socially selected for his particular church in terms of its specific needs and traditions, the result of a social heritage held in common with his parishioners, to lead in worship and the social adjuncts of worship. Aside from these considerations, the minister (and in consequence, the church) has lost exclusive possession of the professional field to new professions and specialties.

Shepard develops this train of thought:⁸

In the year 1790, when the population of Connecticut was about a quarter of a million, there were three hundred and fifty-five ministers of the Gospel in the State. These were the insurance agents of . . . simple times. If the same proportion had been kept we should now have about two thousand five hundred clergymen, but in fact have fewer than fifteen hundred.

In "Is Italy a Catholic Country?"⁹ Gaetano Salvemini presents a parallel chapter of societal evolution. He writes:

⁷ From the developmental or evolutionary standpoint a helpful concept is that which ascribes to religion a primary function of dealing with the Unknown; that is, the area not intelligible solely in terms of physically and palpably verified experience. This concept is used here with the understanding that however important, this is but one of several functions served by religion and by the church.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

⁹ *The Protestant* (Aug.-Sept., 1943), 5: 53.

One has to consider the fact that in the North [the section approximating New England in environment, industrial development, and culture] most of the rural population lives in small scattered nuclei. A half century ago, the parish priest was the only person with a smattering of learning who came in daily contact with the peasantry, knew its needs, and acted as a moral guide as well as minister of the sacraments. Little by little the municipal doctor, the elementary school teacher, the newspaper, and now the cinema and the radio have infringed upon the spiritual monopoly of the priest, but they have not completely destroyed it. In general the rural clergy responded rather successfully to new conditions by multiplying its own activity in the field of social service.

A study of *The Education of American Ministers*,¹⁰ made in 1934 produced some interesting findings in regard to the background of theological seminary students. In summary they are these:

Fifty-four per cent of theological students, or more than twice as large a proportion as the general run of college, university, and professional students, migrate to other states for their training. While the resulting diversity of geographic backgrounds creates opportunities for the development of wider and more sympathetic attitudes, the seminaries need to give greater attention to the problems of adjustment which are also created.

In general, theological students tend to come from somewhat smaller communities than would be expected from the distribution of the population. At the same time, 20.3 percent come from cities of 100,000 or more, and 44.5 percent from communities of less than 2,500 population.

Theological students come from distinctly religious homes, where the educational level is above the average. The parents of theological students are devout; they are regular attendants and active participants in the work of the church; and are enthusiastic about the vocational choice of their sons. They average nine or ten years of education, equivalent to two years of high school. On the other hand, 29.0 percent of the fathers are farmers; 15.1 percent are ministers; and 24.0 percent are skilled or unskilled laborers and tradesmen. Since 68.1 percent of fathers fall in these groups, the family income is necessarily low, the median being \$1,863 a year. On the average, a family of four children has been provided for from these meager resources.

What may be said of the favorable or unfavorable nature of this picture? The picture is favorable if we compare seminary alumni with men who have entered the ministry from other sources. On a dozen measures of home background factors, the seminary alumni in

¹⁰ Mark A. May and others (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research), 3: 286-87.

service are consistently and distinctly superior to other ministers. That is, the seminaries are responsible for the training of more promising young men who are looking forward to the ministry for their life work. On the other hand, the picture is unfavorable when seminary students are compared with other groups. The occupational backgrounds of Freshmen college men who are looking forward to the ministry compare unfavorably with those of Freshmen college men who are looking forward to other vocations. The occupational backgrounds of theological students are especially unfavorable in comparison with those of students in law and medicine.

It should be emphasized that these statements do not apply without exception to all individuals. Many of the great religious leaders have come from humble backgrounds; and many with every advantage have failed. Nevertheless, on the average and in the majority of cases, a limited economic, educational, cultural and religious background brings forth only limited abilities and a meager and narrow outlook on life.

Paragraph by paragraph, these findings mean that the ministers who prepare for their work in professional schools are (for urban areas like New Haven or larger centers) unaccustomed to the life patterns of the communities in which they expect to serve as leaders. They mean that the community pattern which such ministers must at the outset of their careers regard as normal is the small city or village. They mean that despite Veblen's assigning ministers to the leisure or middle class, individual ministers more probably are not of leisure class or middle class stock, that in fact more often than not they are not of professional class stock. They mean that the ministry today does not attract the same caliber young man as medicine or law, to name two alternate professions. And finally, they mean that the quality of ministerial leadership is selectively less promising than that of other professions.

In contrast to the limited occupational range of the original settlers,¹¹ the classification made in 1936 by the United States Employment Service of all categories of gainful employment in the country included eight occupational groups with sixteen subgroups.¹² *Clergymen* are classified under the first group, Professional and Kindred Workers, in

¹¹ Occupation and social class were the same. Sanford (*op. cit.*, p. 124) gives the descending order: gentlemen, yeomen, merchants, mechanics, and servants.

¹² U. S. Dept. of Labor, U. S. Employment Service: *Occupational Titles and Codes for Use in Public Employment Offices* (Washington, 1936), 1: vii.

the first sub-group, Professional Workers, which lists 42 titles. Of these, only seven (in addition to clergymen themselves) could have been used, with any approximation to their present meaning, in the days of the foundation of the colony. The seven, many of which now have a more specific and professional content than in earlier days, are: Architects, Authors and Authoresses, Historians, Lawyers and Attorneys, Physicians and Surgeons, Professors, Teachers and Instructors. The Professional and Kindred Workers group contains 292 titles and subtitles of specific types of work. Without suggesting that all ministers with pulpits profess actual professional training or accomplishments or that all 292 occupations are comparable to the job specifications which could be written about the most gifted and learned ministers in New Haven, it would not be a distortion of fact to say that the minister today is as a professional man but one of a possible 292. In early colonial days he was in a class by himself, or at least shared his professional status with but seven other callings.

The Beards¹³ have pointed out the beginning and a midpoint of the trend here under discussion:

From the break-up of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the colonial era, the clergy had been the leaders in thought and instruction. As a rule they were the makers of books, the teachers in schools and universities, the compilers of laws, the guardians of all things of the spirit.

By middle colonial days, the secularization of professional leadership became manifest in the improved status of the lawyer.

In rising to social and political power," the Beards write, "the lawyer gave a peculiar twist to the rhetoric of American statecraft. Before their time, the men who followed intellectual pursuits had been chiefly preachers of the Gospel—even the teachers for the grammar schools and colleges had been taken from this class; and while the theologians dominated intellectual interests, weapons for argument, secular as well as religious, were drawn from Biblical lore. The lawyers, on the other hand, consulted and enlarged upon a body of learning that was secular in nature."¹⁴

The evolution of the minister's rôle has been comparable to that of the philosopher. Specific

¹³ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard: *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, rev. ed., 1935), 1: 145-46.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 1: 102.

areas of professional action have been appropriated from the one, specific areas of knowledge from the other, although new areas have been made available thereby to both. These expropriated areas in each case were undeveloped or unknown before acquiring a professional personnel of their own. The effect, however, has been the same whether they were transferred or newly discovered areas.

Today, as when Münsterberg wrote in 1914, "clergymen are highly esteemed. In the non-political life, especially in the East, the great preachers are among the more influential people of the day."¹⁵ The esteem enjoyed by the clergy was not so great in the seventeenth century as it has generally been among primitive men, where they held the highest position in society and were, professionally and collectively if not individually, unassailable.¹⁶ The esteem is not so great now as it was in the seventeenth century. But the elements of esteem remain. The minister is, by reason of his formulation of orthodoxy and unorthodoxy and by reason of his sway over the followers of orthodoxy, in a position of power. He is both the official of the church as a going institution and the beneficiary of the heritage of church leadership in the culture.¹⁷ The explanation of both esteem and the diminished primacy of that esteem is, in Professor Keller's words, "that men have always respected what they took to be superior knowledge."¹⁸

Ministers are today listed alphabetically in the classified sections of both telephone directories and city directories. Ministers are listed by denom-

ination in the *Register and Manual* of the State of Connecticut (a *vade mecum* for attorneys, newspaper people, public employees, and those concerned with practical civic affairs).¹⁹ The changes in the last century in city directory listing of churches and ministers is (in terms of attention given) indicative of the increased number of churches and the decreased prestige of ministers and churches. The first New Haven city directory, issued in 1840, and the two following thereafter at fifty year intervals present an interesting comparison, which can be presented in tabular form (see Table 1).

With the growth of the number of ministers who have no church and who may or may not have some other professional work, and with the parallel growth in the number of churches, the church has

TABLE 1
CITY DIRECTORY LISTINGS FOR NEW HAVEN CHURCHES
AND MINISTERS, 1840, 1890, AND 1940

| YEAR | CHURCHES LISTED SEPA- RATELY* | MINISTERS LISTED SEPA- RATELY | CHURCH OFFICERS LISTED |
|------|--|--|------------------------|
| 1840 | 12 | 0 | for 11 churches |
| 1890 | 66 | 116 | for all churches |
| 1940 | 144 | 0** | for none |

* This includes the New Haven area, not only the City of New Haven.

** Under the "Classified" section, "Clergyman" carries the notation "See Churches."

¹⁵ Hugo Münsterberg, *The Americans*, translated by Edwin B. Holt (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914), p. 502.

¹⁶ A. G. Keller, *Man's Rough Road* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1932), pp. 303-4; A. G. Keller and W. G. Sumner, *The Science of Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927, §§ 320, 321).

¹⁷ The status prerogatives of the ministry on the one hand and the decline in functional opportunities and demands on the other are reflected in two very different books which have appeared in recent years. Received by some informed readers as a brutal but valid caricature, Sinclair Lewis's *Elmer Gantry* displays his fictional modern shaman as principally charlatan, and Walter B. Pitkin in *New Careers for Youth* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934) advises young men and women of ambition and capacity to eschew the professional ministry as lacking rewards and satisfactions commensurate with its demands.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

come to be of greater general community importance than the status individual, the minister. Since the current city directories list the ministers with their churches, the position is treated as a functionally important one. There may be some slight significance to the fact that ministers are not accorded separate listing in their own right. The lay officers of churches are not recognized at present by any listing in connection with their church activity. The matter of directory listing is a slight but indicative one. The fact that the different types of commonly used directories are not consistent is in itself significant.

Indicative of the present reduced leadership

¹⁹ In these three directories the ministers listed are not all attached to specific churches. Some are, in fact, active in other fields, such as education, writing, and denominational organizations.

function of the ministry is the fact that only 16 of the 223 New Haveners listed in the geographical index of *Who's Who in America, 1940-1941*, are ministers, and of them only three have New Haven churches.

The minister today is cut off from active participation in the financial and business sphere. There are three possible patterns of ministerial behavior. The first, the most common and generally best thought of, is one of conspicuous absence of ministerial representation. The second (which is rare) is an evident alignment with the entrepreneurial section of the community. The single conspicuous instance is the minister who is a member of the Chamber of Commerce—the second such member in the Chamber's history. The third pattern is a critical one, viewing local events and acting from the economic-political left. It is also little practiced. Two or three New Haven ministers are active in the Cooperative Consumers movement and are known as conservative Socialists. One has appeared as a champion of the CIO organization of local industry. By and large, however, ministers are not encouraged to take an active part in actual economic affairs. The considered sober opinion of the business community would seem to be expressed by an officer of one of the leading New Haven banks:

While there may have been, and possibly there are still clergymen, priests or rabbis, who might be of some value to certain types of banks in an advisory capacity, their experience along the lines which make a citizen eligible for a directorship or trusteeship in a commercial or savings bank is usually lacking, as banks usually invite to their Boards not only men of high character and integrity, but of long business experience, which through their success as outstanding industrialists, merchants, lawyers, and in some instances professors of economics, makes them particularly desirable as directors in institutions which have the care of the depositors' money. . . .

Apparently expressing the sentiment of the responsible business community, the works manager of the plant under organization campaign by the CIO testified before the National Labor Relations Board that "in effect he thought it was not a clergyman's business to support the labor movement. He said he was surprised 'to hear a man of the

cloth' taking the attitude" of the liberal, labor-crusading minister.²⁰

A seasoned theologian in discussing "principles which determine the nature and limit of the church's social responsibility" has disposed of leadership in practical affairs thus:

In such matters as industrial and political reconstruction, many of the men and women with whom we must work do not share our premises, or, if they accept them, do not understand them as we do.

In such a situation the only safety for the Christian is to confine his action strictly to the religious field. The Church's pronouncements on social and economic questions must be such, and such only, as grow out of the distinctive function of the Church as a religious institution, concerned primarily with motives and ideals. They must take their departure from Jesus' view of human personality and express His conception of the true relations of men in society. The unity they seek must be secured by free assent. The converts they win must be gained by the contagion of personality.²¹

The circumscribing changes suffered by the ministry have been summed up by a leading minister of Muncie, Indiana: "In the old days people went to preachers for consolation, information, and inspiration. They still come to us for consolation, but go to newspapers for information and inspiration."²²

Although this paper has avoided consideration of the place of religion and the church in present-day New Haven, it would be avoiding inevitable inference not to point out that the preceding discussion reveals a realignment of individual and community involvement with religion and church. It is legitimate here to concur with the observation that New Haven has participated in "a radical upheaval in the affairs and thought of mankind," which the Beards further associate with the "bourgeoisie, a class which in conduct and interest, whatever its professions of faith, [is] primarily secular."²³

²⁰ *The Bridgeport Herald* (April 5, 1942).

²¹ William Adams Brown, *The Church in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 157.

²² Quoted by R. S. and H. M. Lynd in *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937), p. 318.

²³ *Op. cit.*, 1: 151.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

NEGRO SECRET SOCIETIES

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I
THE efforts of Negroes to adjust to their minority status have manifested themselves in many collective endeavors. One of them is the secret society. The formal structures of Negro institutions are almost exact replicas of white institutions. Whether the subtler functions of Negro institutions are peculiarly Negro in temperament or in African cultural heritage remains a moot point.¹ A careful study of the Negro secret society as an institution will throw much light on the processes of acculturation and assimilation.

There has never been a systematic study of Negro lodges and benevolent societies. The closest approach came in 1910 when Howard W. Odum included a short chapter called "Fraternal Organizations and Benevolent Societies" in his *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*. The present paper proposes to make a beginning toward filling this gap by sketching briefly the origins and functions of fraternal organizations among Negroes.

Secret societies fall into two general classes,² namely active and ceremonial. The former has a definite objective or goal which it seeks to attain; its policies, its techniques, all its behavior, in fact, are oriented toward and conditioned by this goal. This type of secret society is usually organized to carry out popular justice and is exemplified by such

notorious groups as the Nihilists, the Carbonari, the Mafia, and the Ku Klux Klan. The latter, on the other hand, does not act to achieve any specific objective. Its members dissipate their energies in ceremonies and rituals which are ends in themselves. Lodges and fraternal orders are in this category.

The numerous Negro secret societies in the United States are now and always have been almost exclusively ceremonial, i.e. lodges and fraternal orders. There never has been a Negro secret society which even slightly resembled the Ku Klux Klan. The abortive slave insurrections, even one so carefully planned as Denmark Vesey's, were never made under the banner of a secret society. Moses Dickson, a free born Negro barber and minister, professed to have founded in 1846 a secret society among the slaves called the Knights of Liberty for the avowed purpose of forcibly destroying slavery. However, Dickson's claims of a highly organized society with thousands of members smack of fantasy and suggest that he invented the story to give realism to the ritual of the International Order of Twelve of the Knights and Daughters of Tabor, a fraternal order which he established in 1871.³

The restrictions on Negroes, slave and free, un-

¹ The controversy over African cultural residuals in contemporary American Negro life is well known. See, for example, M. J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1941); E. F. Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 3-22; and R. E. Park, "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro," *Journal of Negro History*, IV: 2 (April, 1919), 116-117.

² This classification is adapted from a lecture on "Popular Justice" by Professor Herbert Blumer.

³ *Manual of the International Order of Twelve of the Knights and Daughters of Tabor*, pp. 7-13. Dickson declared that the Knights of Liberty had branches in every southern state except Missouri and Texas, and that by 1856 "the army of true and trusted men numbered 47,240 Knights of Liberty." The existence of such an organization is extremely doubtful since Dickson claimed that all the Knights were killed in the Civil War except himself. He also declined to divulge the secrets or rolls of the Knights of Liberty to "safeguard" the descendants of its members against reprisals.

doubtedly militated against the successful organization of any kind of active secret society before the Civil War. White surveillance and Negro leadership have prevented their existence since emancipation. Negro leaders have consistently counselled their followers to pursue patient, peaceful, legal efforts toward securing the rights and privileges they desire.

Ceremonial secret societies abound among Negroes in this country. They are with few exceptions fraternal benefit orders which "care for the sick and bury the dead." Among the several Negro organizations of this type which have achieved national prominence are the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the United Order of True Reformers, the Independent Order of St. Luke, and the Mosaic Templars. Although these organizations are popularly called *lodges*, they are not lodges in the restricted sense of the term. A lodge is primarily a social organization. Secrecy, ritualism and sociability provide its chief appeals; benefit features, if any, are incidental.⁴ Two of the largest lodges among Negroes are the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World and the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons (Prince Hall Affiliation).

Freemasonry is the oldest and most respected secret society among Negroes in the United States. The parenthetical adjunct in the title of the Negro Masonic order distinguishes it from the white Masons and at the same time memorializes its founder. Prince Hall was a West Indian mulatto who migrated to Boston in 1765, pastored a Methodist church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and became an influential member of Boston's free Negro community. In 1775 a travelling Masonic lodge, attached to the British forces stationed near Bunker Hill, initiated, passed, and raised Prince Hall and fourteen other Negroes.⁵ The modern Masons of Massachusetts and the other Masonic bodies in the vicinity of Boston denied the Negro Masons' application for a charter, but they sought and received a warrant to establish African Lodge

No. 459 from the Mother Grand Lodge of England in 1784.⁶

Seven years later African Lodge assumed the powers of a Grand Lodge. This step stimulated the growth of Negro Masonry. By 1860 lodges were found in eighteen states and in Canada. This territory included most of the Atlantic coastal states as far south as Virginia, and many mid-western states. Maryland, Virginia, and Louisiana, the centers of the free Negro population, were the only southern states with Negro Masonic lodges before 1860. This is explained by the fact that slaves were barred from Masonic membership. The three years that followed the end of the Civil War saw the inclusion of every southern state in the Negro Masonic ranks.⁷

The first secret society in the United States which emphasized benevolent features was the Odd Fellows. It was also the first fraternal benefit order which Negroes joined. Odd Fellowship crossed the ocean to America in 1819. Its first Negro lodge, the Philomathean Lodge, No. 646 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, made its debut in New York City on March 1, 1843.

The origin of Negro Odd Fellowship parallels that of Negro Masonry. In 1842 the Philomathean Institute of New York, a club composed of free Negroes, spurred by a "need for mutual aid and protection in case of sickness and distress" petitioned the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of New York for a dispensation. "Treated with contempt and their application preemptorily refused," the Negroes applied to the English lodge with success. This application was made at the suggestion of Peter Ogden, a Negro ship's steward, who sailed between New York and Liverpool.⁸

The Odd Fellows merely introduced Negroes to the secrecy feature of benevolent organizations, for people of color had been organizing friendly societies since 1787. In that year Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, free colored men of the cloth, established the Free African Society of Philadelphia in order that the membership "should support one another in sickness and for the benefit of their

⁴ Charles W. Ferguson, *Fifty Million Brothers, A Panorama of American Lodges and Clubs* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937), VIII, p. 130.

⁵ William H. Grimshaw, *Official History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People of North America* (Montreal: Broadway Publishing Company, 1903), pp. 69-77.

⁶ George W. Crawford, *Prince Hall and His Followers; Being a Monograph on the Legitimacy of Negro Masonry* (New York: Crisis, 1914), p. 17.

⁷ Grimshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-305.

⁸ Charles H. Brooks, *The Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America* (Philadelphia: The Order, 1902), pp. 12-13.

fatherless children."⁹ Similar groups were formed in cities like Boston, New York, Baltimore, Richmond, and New Orleans. The slaves are reported to have had mutual aid societies also. These slave societies, operated without the knowledge of the masters, were especially prevalent in Virginia.¹⁰

Negroes affiliated with a third kind of ceremonial secret society in 1874. This society, the Independent Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria, announced that it would "promulgate the causes of charity and temperance and spread the principles of true philanthropy."¹¹ Its constitution stated that the society's primary purpose was "to reclaim the inebriate from his lost condition and restore him to society."¹²

The Order of Good Samaritans made a concession which no other large American secret society has ever made. It accepted Negro members. But white Samaritans could neither be presided over by nor meet with black Samaritans. Although the Negro members took part in the general convention, their representation was limited and their voting privilege did not extend beyond matters concerning themselves. When the colored membership increased to the point that it took over equal representation and elected a black National Grand Sire, the white brethren withdrew.¹³ The year 1877 marked the end of a national secret society in the United States with a racially mixed membership.

At the time of the Civil War, then, there were at least three secret societies among Negroes. There is no evidence that free Negroes or slaves ever attempted to set up African secret societies or their reasonably exact facsimile. On the contrary, they went to great lengths to associate themselves with Europe's most distinguished secret orders and with the only American order which permitted them.

The refusal of the early American Masons to admit Negro members, and the segregation policy

of the Good Samaritans foreshadowed the prohibition against Negro members by all later American secret societies. It was an early phase of the pattern of social separateness which characterizes Negro-white relations in the United States.

II

The era of fraternal benefit societies in the United States began in 1869 when the Ancient Order of Workmen began assessing members to pay benefits to the heirs of its deceased. The magnetism of secret rituals and the popular prejudice against old-line insurance companies, fanned by the failure of some sixty of them in the 1870's, assured the rapid rise of similar fraternal orders. Between 1870 and 1910 Americans joined no less than 3500 secret societies employing the assessment principle.¹⁴

The position of the Negroes immediately following emancipation made them particularly vulnerable to such organizations. Their economic and social worlds were in flux. White fraternal benefit societies were not accessible to them, and the differential premiums of the insurance companies angered them. Economic cooperation among themselves offered the best protection against life's exigencies. This cooperation took various forms, the most important of which were church benevolent groups and all-Negro fraternal benefit societies.

The desire of the ex-slaves to exploit the social and recreational possibilities of their freedom to the fullest caused the fraternal benefit society to gain favor rapidly. The society's pomp and splendor with its colorful regalia and resounding titles, the camaraderie and heightened sense of importance which comes with a shared secret appealed greatly to the recently freed slaves. Lodge parades or "turnouts" soon featured the celebration of the Negro's numerous holidays.¹⁵ The secret society began to vie with the church for preeminence in Negro life.

Odum fixed the twenty years preceding 1910 as

⁹ Constitution of the Free African Society. Cited by R. R. Wright, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, p. 31.

¹⁰ W. P. Burrell, *The Negro in Insurance*, cited by W. J. Trent, Jr., *The Development of Negro Life Insurance*, p. 13.

¹¹ Howard H. Turner, *Turner's History of the Independent Order of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria*, p. 18.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁴ F. H. Hankins, "Fraternal Orders," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, VI, 424-425.

¹⁵ Carter G. Woodson, "Insurance Business Among Negroes," *Journal of Negro History*, XIV, 203-204. During Reconstruction the Negroes celebrated the dates of every significant event dealing with their emancipation, e.g., the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the end of the Civil War, the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, etc.

the period of the greatest development of "secret societies, carrying benefits and insurance, managed entirely by Negroes."¹⁶ Literally thousands of these organizations came into existence. Many were as ephemeral as the present-day Negro store front church; others enjoyed much more substantial histories. The great majority were limited to one locality and small memberships; a few acquired national importance and thousands of members. Sincere men, wishing to contribute to the welfare of their race, founded benefit secret societies. So did unscrupulous men who wished to make a comfortable living without hard work. This was the golden age of Negro secret societies. It saw the development of well-managed, successful organizations. It also witnessed the tragicomic rise of absurdities like the Knights and Daughters of I Will Arise and the Order of Lone Star Race Pride, Friendship, Love and Help.

The Grand United Order of True Reformers enjoyed the earliest and probably the greatest success of any Negro secret society. The Reverend W. W. Browne, an astute business man and an informal student of collective behavior, founded this organization in 1881 at Richmond, Virginia, on the theory that the "secret society is the colored man's most effective mode of organization." He said, "In dealing with a backward and undeveloped class of people, approach can be made easiest through religion and emotional appeal. . . . Any practical proposition can best be presented to the Negro on the blind side of religious or mystic formula." ¹⁷ Browne was apparently right because in twenty-three years the True Reformers had grown from a hundred members to seventy-thousand. The society had expended more than \$2,000,000 in reliefs and benefits, owned \$400,000 worth of real estate, a savings bank, a newspaper, a chain of grocery stores, a hotel, and an old folks home. ¹⁸

In 1902 Booker T. Washington stated that there were about twenty national Negro secret societies. In addition to the True Reformers he listed the better known as being the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, United Brothers of Friendship and Sisters of the Mysterious Ten, Elks, Knights of Tabor, Buffaloes, Foresters, Galilean Fishermen, Samaritans, Nazarites, Sons and Daughters of Jacob, Seven Wise Men, Knights of Honor, and

the Mosaic Templars of America. ¹⁹ Washington estimated the property holdings of the fraternal to be about \$5,800,000. The three largest property owners were the Odd Fellows, (\$2,500,000), Masons, (\$1,000,000), True Reformers, (\$800,000). ²⁰

The Negro leaders who appraised the secret societies at the turn of the century found them contributing "in spite of their failings, in no small degree to the intellectual and material development of the Negro race." ²¹ An Atlanta University survey stated with approval that they represented the "saving, banking spirit among Negroes and are the germ of commercial enterprise of a purer type." At the same time the survey did not fail to comment on their "extravagance and waste in expenditure, on outlay for regalia and tinsel." ²² Booker T. Washington saw the secret society as the Negro's means of creating capital, learning business techniques, and teaching the "masses of people habits of saving and of system which they would not otherwise have been able or disposed to learn." ²³

Critics then, as now, were scoffing at the deflections of Negro secret societies, at their vivid regalia and extravagant titles, at the chicanery of their politics, and the costliness of their conclaves, at their negligence of constructive programs for "race progress." But their contributions could not be gainsaid. They were pioneering in Negro cooperative efforts; they were laying the foundations for Negro insurance companies, Negro banks, and other commercial enterprises. And more important, they were allowing a people whose lives are spent in menial tasks and servile roles to inhabit a world where for a day they are knights and nobles, kings and courtiers.

Because the fraternal benefit orders, white and Negro, neglected an elementary but very important principle, their decline was inevitable. They

¹⁶ *The Story of The Negro*, II, 153.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 156. It is interesting that competition for members forced the Negro Masons in the South to add the insurance feature to their programs. In 1892 The Grand Lodge of Arkansas became the first Masonic lodge with an "Endowment Department." The northern Negro Masons have never had "Endowment Departments."

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²² W. E. B. DuBois, ed., *Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment* (Atlanta University Press, 1898), p. 17.

²³ Washington, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

¹⁶ *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*, p. 99.

¹⁷ Cited by Kelly Miller, "A Great Negro Enterprise," *New England Magazine*, XXXII, 650-651.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 651-656.

neglected the fact that insurance risk increases with age. The system of uniform assessment is workable during the early years of a society when growth is rapid and the death rate of members is low. However, in the society's later years when the average age of members increases, their mortality rate also increases. The number of assessments rises sharply, new members are harder to recruit, and withdrawals are more numerous. Over 85 percent of the white fraternal founded between 1870 and 1910 failed after an average life of 15 years.²⁴ The rate of failure among Negroes was probably greater, in view of the fact that they contended with poorer insurance risks, lower premiums, and a more widespread ignorance of insurance principles. Mismanagement and fraud were rife in all secret orders. Their incidence may have been higher in Negro fraternal because their constituents could be more easily duped.

In the late 1880's leaders of white fraternal saw that their only hope of survival lay in the adoption of sound actuarial methods. The "step rate" was their first reform. This was an attempt to relate assessments to age by increasing the premiums as age advanced.²⁵ Later the National Fraternal Congress introduced other reforms, not the least of which were the drawing up of a sound mortality table and the insistence on more stringent insurance laws.²⁶ Some Negro organizations, notably the True Reformers, the Knights of Pythias, and the southern Masons, used the step rate system. In 1908, after the failure of the True Reformers, the Negro insurance associations and fraternal orders in Virginia organized the Federated Insurance League, but it went out of existence without accomplishing a great deal.²⁷

The white fraternal orders have declined rapidly in recent years. Hankins states, "Since 1910 insurance annually written by some of them has fallen steadily from slightly above one-third of the national total to less than one-fifteenth."²⁸ Statistics for Negro fraternal do not exist. However, every indication points to a similar trend for them. Strict enforcement of insurance regulations destroyed many local Negro fraternal orders. The rise of large Negro legal reserve companies and the favor white industrial companies enjoy among

Negroes have crippled them further. Returns from a recent questionnaire sent to the larger Negro secret societies show that they experienced heavy membership and property losses during the depression. A trip through the South will show hundreds of tumble-down buildings which once served as meeting places for Negro lodges. A casual reading of Negro lodge activities will show that their present efforts usually concentrate on saving their mortgaged property.

The trend has been toward the decline of the multifarious local Negro secret societies and the development of a few strong national organizations. Nearly all are replicas of white secret societies. The Negro Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias are in the foreground of this group. Each uses the same regalia, paraphernalia, rituals, and passwords as its white counterpart. As has been pointed out, the Negro Masons and Odd Fellows originated as regular local lodges of their orders. But the Negro Elks, Pythians, and many others are unashamed imitators, and are contemptuously called "ape lodges" by the whites.²⁹ Nevertheless, the Negro Elks boast:

Like all other secret and benevolent organizations that have been organized, the white order of Elks will not permit colored persons to become members. But there are colored Elks now. . . . Some may try to deprecate the colored Elks but we have the same ritual that the white Elks have. . . . The difference between the white and colored Elks is this: The white order is known as the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. Ours is known as the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World.³⁰

Despite every effort of the white secret societies to discourage Negro imitation, Negro facsimiles flourish. The Negro Elks spent thousands of dollars to establish their legal right to use the name

²⁴ Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Trent, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ The colored Elks were founded by a Pullman porter who "came into contact with enough of the workings of the order to organize an Elk Lodge himself in 1898 in Cincinnati," (Charles T. Magill, "Do You Know the Password?" *The New York Amsterdam News*, December 18, 1929). Negro Pythians began when a few colored men who had been initiated into a regular lodge of the Knights of Pythias of the World (white) organized the Knights of Pythias of North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

³⁰ Eighth Annual Report of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World. Cited by W. E. B. DuBois, ed., *Economic Cooperation Among Negroes*, p. 126.

and paraphernalia of the Elks. Negro Masonic literature deals almost entirely with arguments against the white Mason's charge that Prince Hall Masonry is clandestine. These facts are significant. There are further indications that Negroes, denied participation in white American institutions, strive to duplicate them. Negro secret

societies present a clear illustration of the extent to which the acculturation of the American Negro has taken place. An analysis of the underlying motives for the establishment of these societies strikingly points to the conclusion that Negroes regard themselves as an integral part of the American society.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AMONG NEGROES

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I

NO OTHER conclusion about the Negro in America has been so taken for granted as that concerning the innately religious character of his temperament. Great credence has been given to the belief that Negroes are "naturally" inclined toward religion; and frequently the cultural possibilities of the race have been evaluated from premises based on this precise belief. It has been utilized, moreover, in the interest of implying an intercultural rather than an interracial situation. Thus the idea has developed that there is some mystical and "different" quality about the religion of the Negro, due in part to his inherent emotionalism and otherwise to the fact that he is of a childlike, credulous disposition. Ergo, the Negro is unsuitable for complete integration into the general society. Such inferences have arisen from the habit of connecting "Negro religion" with forms expressive of the slavery period when, as is well known, religion was the dumping ground for all of the frustrations, the fears, and the hopes of Negro slaves. These inferences are, perhaps, not entirely illogical in view of the fact that the phenomenon of cultural succession has operated to preserve numerous survivals of Negro religious customs and attitudes of an earlier generation.

It is the leitmotiv of this article, however, that the social milieu in which the Negro lived under the slave system demanded for its maintenance, powerful psychological compensations which were most safely and satisfactorily provided by an exaggerated emphasis on religion. The religious patterns then established have diminished in importance as the

need for the compensation which they furnished has lessened.

The last assertion is at once an assumption and an hypothesis. It is the objective of this investigation to produce for it some verification. This will be attempted by presenting data from a simple questionnaire dealing with the church and religion, designed to show the trend of religious opinion among Negroes. These data will be accorded a detailed consideration hereinafter. It should be noted at this point, however, that observation and participation in the social life of the Negro community of Houston, Texas, the site of this investigation, reveal that the Negro population has many more churches, relatively speaking, than the white population.¹ This is a fact which could have some significance for the questions which are raised in this discussion. It must, therefore, be dealt with in a later section of the study.

II

The questionnaires which were administered contained the following inquiries: (1) Are you connected with any church? If so, what denomination? (2) What is the church denomination of your mother? (3) Do you think that church members are more respected in a community than non-church members? (4) Give your opinion about religion and church membership.

¹ This was definitely true in 1939, according to a study by Ira B. Bryant, Jr. for the Houston College for Negroes. It was pointed out that the Negro, comprising 21 per cent of the population, had 204 churches, and the remaining 79 per cent of the population had 236 churches. The study was entitled *The Negro Church In Houston*.

As is observable, the questions, with the possible exception of number 4 require small reflection. The simple organization was deliberate in order to prevent studied responses. In regard to the last query, the respondents were asked to write a short exposition containing one or several sentences, involving the first idea on the general subject which came to mind.

The questionnaires were submitted to two separate groups. One group consisted of ten individuals—two male and eight female—ranging from the ages of 74 to 86. The other group consisted of one hundred students at The Houston College for Negroes, ranging in age from 17 to 40, with 88 percent female and 12 percent male. Twenty percent of the College group were freshmen while 80 percent were above that collegiate level. Thirty percent were between the ages of 16 and 20, sixty percent were between 20 and 30, and ten percent were over thirty.

In regard to the older group,² all indicated church connection, either Baptist or Methodist, the latter church claiming only three. All but one of the group had had at least one slave parent although none of the respondents were old enough to have personal memories of slavery. Five of the group belonged to the same church as had both parents (Baptist), but the remaining ones were vague on church membership of parents, not recalling or not wishing to discuss same. It was difficult to get a categorical reply to question 3 because the informants were extremely insistent upon expounding their views. By way of illustration a woman of 81 said, "Yes, I guess so, but what's the difference about what folks think so long as you got the respect of the heavenly Father?" There was, nevertheless, a consensus among members of the group that church members are more respected than nonchurch members.

In regard to the last question each person in the older group expressed similar sentiments. Excerpts from their replies follow:

Lawd, honey, I'm thinkin' that religion and a belief in Jehovah will carry you through all tribilations.

I goes to church when I'm well enough 'cause it's God's house, but I'm praisin' Him in my heart every hour of the day.

I been lovin' God and tryin' to serve Him for fifty years, ever since he struck me down. Yes, chile, I jes

² Replies by members of this group were dictated to the writer.

fell plum out and when I come to I was bo'n agin—washed in the blood o' the lamb.

A lot of these new fangled preachers don't have the kind of religion I likes. My granddaughter says they tryin' to 'splain the Bible. But if you's a true Christian you don't need too much 'splainin' 'cause yo' Jesus tells you in the still of the night whut you need to know.

The way God has helped us cullud folks bear our cross, I don't see no reason fo' us not to trust Him. When we git to His kingdom, won't be no black and white.

I made my peace with the Lawd a long time ago. When He comes fo me I'm ready to cross over Jerden. I can see my mammy an' my gran mammy, and my little gal that went, all waitin' fo' me on the other sho'. I been servin' my Lawd an' I know tha's a place fo' me in His kingdom.

Such expressions are undoubtedly representative of patterns of thought among Negroes of an earlier generation.³ Religion is a dominating factor, and it is a personal intimate religion which necessarily relegates the church to an incidental place in the lives of the believers. Heaven is geographically located above the earth, and the anticipation of reaching there is as definite as if one has boarded a train headed for a specified destination. It is a religion involving an unbounded faith in an eternity which will supply all of the good things which the world has denied.

In connection with the second group of questionnaires administered, each respondent indicated connection with some church. The denomination distribution revealed that 52 percent were Baptist, 28 percent were Methodists, 4 percent were Catholics, 4 percent were Presbyterians, 4 percent were Christian Scientists, and 8 percent belonged to a Church of God or Church of Christ. Church membership followed that of the mother when the parents were (or had been when living) members of different churches. For instance, the 52 Baptist students had 50 Baptist mothers but only 36 Baptist fathers. 99 respondents answered "yes" to question 3, indicating that they believed that church members were more respected in a community than nonchurch members. Only one reply

³ This statement is borne out in studies made by Charles S. Johnson, *Autobiographies of Ex-slaves*, and *Conversion Experiences of Negroes*, Mimeographed mms. Fisk University, Social Science Dept., Nashville, Tenn.

was qualified. A female between thirty and thirty-five replied, "yes, if they are truly Christian."

In respect to question number 4 the responses were not so varied as might have been expected from so general a query. In fact, 76 of the members of the group expressed the opinions that the church and/or religion were beneficial for every day living, most of the 76 stressing the angle of citizenship and contribution to the community through church affiliation. Only one student made mention of after life. This response—by a female, Baptist, age 29, was, "No one should connect themselves with a church if they do not believe there is a hereafter. Read John 3:16."

The following are sample replies to question 4, extracted from the 76 questionnaires aforementioned:

If a person has religion he is more obedient to the laws of the community.

One who is capable of affiliating in religious as well as social circles is considered more prominent and a more worthy citizen in the community.

People who have religion will be better citizens than those who do not.

If you are a member of a church, it gives you a better standing with the community as well as a clear conscience.

I think before anyone becomes a leader of anything they should connect themselves with some church.

Church membership is one of the essential things of life.

The church can help one in so many ways.

Every person should connect himself with some church so that they will fit themselves for better living and have better social attitudes.

One should belong to church because there is a great need for the fellowship it offers, especially in times of trouble.

The remaining 23 students gave miscellaneous replies of which the following are illustrations:

Religion is a part of culture transmitted from one generation to another.

I think Negroes are more religious than white people.

If a person has religion he should be able to help people who are not Christians.

Churches are our best institutions so we should be glad to support them.

I joined church when I was only 12 because my mother said she never wanted me to die a sinner like my father did.

I have always been glad I joined.

The replies of the college group appear to provide a fair cross section of opinion within the age limits already noted. It is a fact that they are all college students but most of them are thoroughly adult and are also engaged in various occupational pursuits. Some of the respondents are married and virtually all of them are exposed to contemporary social thought in a manner not realized by the average "boarding school" college students. The college is municipal, in consequence of which, its students have received no religious indoctrination from college attendance.

III

The fascination which religion appears to have for the Negro may be traced to the following factors: (1) the traditionalist view of religion as an outstanding social value of the total culture pattern; (2) the lack of opportunity for participating to the fullest extent in other phases of the total culture; (3) the emotional outlet offered by religion, which has deflected aggression against white supremacy into relatively "safe" channels. Religion has thus been a striking element in the acculturation process of the Negro and has played no minor role in his accommodation to the biracial societal structure.

Historically, Negroes received their religious education from the whites, who "converted" them. It should be noted, however, that this education included much more than mere conversion to another faith. It involved an adjustment to a new set of ideas, the most predominant being the superior-inferior positions of white and black peoples. Exactly what, then, did these slavery time Negroes believe about religion that they would take such pride in it? They believed, apparently, that they were an inferior race here on earth, but that through their faith they would obtain a position of equality in the next world. It is possible to obtain some clues to the significant

areas of opinion in this respect from even the small sampling of questionnaires of older people in this article. Note, for example, the respondent who declared that there "won't be no black and white" in the kingdom. Also a belief in Jehovah will carry you through "all tribulations." The "tribulations" are, of course, those centering around lower caste status.

It is indeed significant that none of these old-timers suggested religion as a panacea for present trials and problems. Evidently they believe that problems of the world must be borne with patience to receive compensation for eternity. They accept their inferior status as "a cross," but nevertheless, as a positive fact.

It is possible to ascertain the trend in thought by a reconsideration of the responses of members of the present generation. *Religion* is minimized in favor of the *church* as a social institution. There is no indication from these responses that religion means much more than church affiliation *for a better community integration, and for improving one's social or community status.* The consensus of opinion appears to be that church members are the leaders of the Negro community. Accordingly, young people who are ambitious should be connected with a church. One's parents expect it and one may also make a better contribution to his social group through the church than he could otherwise do.

This trend of thought is supported and motivated by the national climate of opinion on the "respectability" of "belonging to church." It is intensified among Negroes by several other factors. In the first instance, it has already been suggested that the Negro community of this city has many more churches, relative to population, than the white community. That is true of most communities. That is not, however, because of the more highly religious character of the Negro, but because of the fact that he has fewer other social outlets. In consequence, the church is correspondingly more important to him for such purposes. Secondly, the prestige rewards which the Negro may reason-

ably anticipate receiving in any community are meager—in politics, economic life, or any other phase. Therefore, the in-group rewards become more desirable and these generally involve church leadership and dependence on church support. Thirdly, churches have been historically associated with Negro education, Negro uplift, and interracial goodwill. This is true to such an extent that in every conference of interracial leaders, the ministers are the first members who are elected. The inference is, it appears, that these are the most outstanding and reliable members of the race. Many Negro colleges, even nondenominational, are headed by churchmen. This is also true among whites but the effect is not the same as among Negroes because they have in the race numerous economic and political leaders, which fact tends to neutralize the position of religious leaders. Finally, the Negro family has not entirely shed its matriarchal quality. (It has been pointed out that church membership among these respondents follows that of the mother.) For the average Negro woman the church is her chief form of social contact. Sunday is often the only day on which she can "get out," unless to work. She takes great pride in her church membership, and she indoctrinates her children at the earliest possible age to attend and respect the church. Church membership is the badge of the Negro woman's respectability and her conventionality. Nothing makes her feel quite so complacent as to sit dressed in church with all members of the immediate family, in tow.

The above suggested factors concern church membership as distinguished from religion. It would be hazardous to assert that the members of the present generation do not also "have religion." But a logical generalization which seems to follow from an analysis of the questionnaires here considered is that there is an increasing tendency among Negroes to veer away from the type of religious belief which served to rationalize all existing hardships, toward the type which is essentially a phenomenon of the particular nationalistic period of the present.

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- PERSONALITY AND BEHAVIOR DISORDERS.** 2 vols. Edited by James McV. Hunt. New York: The Ronald Press, 1944. 1242 pp. \$10.00.
- CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOPATHOLOGY.** Edited by Silvan S. Tomkins. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943. 614 pp. \$5.00.
- WAR PSYCHIATRY.** The Proceedings of the Second Brief Psychotherapy Council. Chicago: Institute for Psychoanalysis, 1944. 54 pp. \$.75.
- PSYCHOANALYSIS TODAY.** Edited by Sandor Lorand. New York: International University Press, 1944. 404 pp. \$6.00.
- MENTAL HYGIENE IN SCHOOL PRACTICE.** By Norman Fenton. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1943. 455 pp. \$4.00.
- NATURE AND TREATMENT OF MENTAL DISORDERS.** By Dom Thomas Moore. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1943. 316 pp. \$4.00.
- PSYCHIATRY AND THE WAR.** Edited by Frank J. Sladen. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1943. 505 pp. \$5.00.
- MATERNAL OVER-PROTECTION.** By David M. Levy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. 417 pp. \$4.50.
- MENTAL HEALTH IN COLLEGE.** By Clements C. Fry. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1942. 365 pp. \$2.00.
- PSYCHOLOGIC CARE DURING INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD.** By Ruth Morris Bakwin and Harry Bakwin. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1942. 317 pp. \$3.50.
- ON BEING A REAL PERSON.** By Harry Emerson Fosdick. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943. 295 pp. \$2.50.
- IN SEARCH OF MATURITY.** By Fritz Kunkel. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943. 292 pp. \$2.75.

Due in part to the stimulus of war conditions the number of recently published books making important contributions to mental hygiene is most impressive. Their appearance also gives evidence of the constantly increasing interest in the scientific approach to the problems of social behavior and individual adjustment. One of the most valuable of these publications is *Personality and Behavior Disorders*, edited by James McV. Hunt, in two volumes. This handbook, based upon experimental and clinical research, provides nearly 1200 pages of information ranging over the entire area of human personality. There are thirty-five chapters each written by a well known authority and each of these presentations is brief, factual, and revealing, providing a source of insight into human behavior nowhere excelled. The two volumes emphasize the complexity of human per-

sonality and the difficulty of interpreting the individual because there is such a quantity of causations influencing character formation.

Contemporary Psychopathology, edited by Silvan Tomkins, is another source book designed as a text for courses in abnormal psychology. It brings together representative material of psychiatric thinking, much of it coming from highly specialized periodical literature which the student finds difficult to get unless he has access to a medical library. The book is adapted to the undergraduate student and will be found of great value for instructors in mental hygiene and also for the sociologist who has interest in the psychiatric approach to human behavior.

War Psychiatry is a booklet recording the Proceedings of the Second Brief Psychotherapy Council held in 1944 at Chicago under the auspices of the Institute of Psychoanalysis. Nowhere else in such limited space has the reviewer come across so useful a presentation of the applications of psychology and psychiatry to the mental problems of those serving in the armed forces.

Psychoanalysis Today is another source book, containing the contributions of twenty-nine eminent psychiatrists and psychoanalysts each of whom has been an original contributor to the psychoanalytic movement. The book demonstrates the progress that has been made in the most fertile field of the twentieth century approaches to the understanding of human behavior. The book summarizes the progress in psychoanalysis in the nearly fifty years following Freud's initial contribution. The material covers a wide area. No more significant portrayal of the advance in knowledge of personality in all its intricacies has been published in recent years. No department of life is alien to this school of thought which clearly is the most radical in its modernness of all the various attempts to increase man's knowledge of himself.

Mental Hygiene in School Practice is the most complete application of mental hygiene to school life yet written. Its purpose is to improve educational practices. Many thoughtful people are convinced that there is no place where the mental hygiene principles are more needed at present than in the schools. The concreteness of this book

appears in the titles of its five parts: Part One: How Mental Hygiene Serves the School; Part Two: Fundamental Points of View in the Practice of Mental Hygiene; Part Three: Individual Guidance—The Theory and Practice of School Case Work; Part Four: Mental Hygiene and the Teacher; Part Five: Mental Hygiene and Community Life. Part Four is probably the most neglected part of the mental hygiene program. The sociologist will be particularly interested in the last chapter, Mental Hygiene and Social Progress.

Nature and Treatment of Mental Disorders is the result of the original research of the author and his experience in helping men and women out of trouble. The book discusses representative maladjustments emphasizing their great diversity and therefore the necessity of therapeutic treatment being highly individualized. The author believes that some mental disorders, at least, must be looked upon as truly psychic in nature since they do not have a specific organic cerebral pathology (page 3). Human emotions are conscious processes in which body and mind are simultaneously involved (page 89). The book has an abundant gathering of cases illustrating with considerable detail therapeutic procedures. The reader is impressed with the thoroughness with which the author has thought out his point of view and the systematic way he presents his theory of personality disorders and his methodology of treatment. The book includes a helpful appendix classifying and defining the clinical entities of psychiatry.

Psychiatry and the War is a survey of the significance of psychiatry in our present war effort and for our postwar needs. It is the most complete summary of psychiatric techniques and psychiatric knowledge, in relation to war conditions, that has appeared in the United States. It contains thirty papers written by well known authorities and two symposiums. Some of this material extends beyond problems relating to the war and its aftermath, dealing with matters of concern to the student of human nature ever present in modern western culture. The sociologist will find it a veritable gold mine of factual information.

Maternal Over-Protection reports an investigation which was made in the effort to study the special relationship between the mother and child, its

hazards and how best to prevent them. It is based on the resources obtained from the Institute for Child Guidance at New York City. The investigation sought to find answers to the following questions: How does the mother get to be over-protective? What is the effect on the child of living with such a mother? How can the potential difficulties that may result be cleared up or prevented? Finally the investigators attempted to contribute to present techniques for the study of other human relationships. The report of this study will be prized by all students of child life and family relationships.

Fry's book is based upon a descriptive analysis of the problems presented by Yale students to the Division of College Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene during a ten year period beginning with 1926 when the Division was established. It gives in detail the Yale program, the history of its development and the nature of the problems brought by the students and the way they have been handled, and demonstrates the usefulness of mental hygiene on the college campus. The book portrays an aspect of college life least recognized and understood. Teachers of marriage and family courses will find Part Two of special value since it deals with problems of personality growth, behavior, and attitude.

Psychologic Care During Infancy and Childhood is written for doctors but the authors did not forget in their discussion its value for nurses and social workers. Much of it, however, falls within the interest of students of the child and of the family. The book is a plea for greater realization of the importance of the emotional, mental, and motor aspects of child behavior on the part of those who accept responsibility for guiding the physical growth of children. It is replete with important information presented in a clear and balanced manner. It stresses prevention and will prove a much used book of reference in child study classes and in courses in the family.

On Being a Real Person is a popular presentation that has been for months one of our best selling nonfiction books. The author has long been known as one of the leaders of the Protestant ministry in the growing appreciation of the value of mental hygiene principles in the field of religious experience. Like the other books by the author

it not only brings insight to the reader but also inspiration. It reveals the serious study Fosdick has made of mental hygiene literature and the practical interest he has taken in the personality difficulties of modern men and women.

In Search of Maturity is a discussion of psychology and the growth of character from the viewpoint of religion. It is based upon more than twenty years of psychotherapeutic service and is addressed to the lay person rather than to the expert. The originality of the book consists in what the author calls the "we" experience. As this theory is elaborated the sociologist will find himself thinking of the contribution of Cooley and Mead in their interpretation of the functioning of social contact as a stimulus to personality development. Kunkel weaves into this interaction of the individual and his social environment the religious motivation, thus stressing three sources of influences on character: ego-impulses, group membership, and religious incentives.

ERNEST R. GROVES

University of North Carolina

REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE: The Hypnoanalysis of a Criminal Psychopath. By Robert M. Lindner. New York. Grune and Stratton, Inc., 1944. 310 pp. \$4.00.

The chief contribution of this volume to the literature of criminology—and it is a significant one—consists in its detailed portrayal of the method of hypnoanalysis which the author, a clinical psychologist at the United States Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, has been developing in his work with criminal personalities since 1939. It contains the complete stenographic transcript of the forty-six hours of hypnoanalysis treatment of Harold, a criminal psychopath, whose conflict with the law began with burglarizing a grocery store at twelve, passed through a series of minor depredations, vandalism, breaking and entering, and armed robbery, and culminated in a serious offense resulting in a long prison term, the details of which are unfortunately not disclosed.

The interpretative core of the case study is psychoanalytic, modified by the newer trend which recognizes that "psychopathic behavior is relative to the culture in which it flourishes and can be measured by no other rule than that of the prevailing ethic and morality." Its technical procedures are also psychoanalytic, modified by the much

more active participation of the therapist than orthodox psychoanalysis allows, and by the use of hypnosis to overcome resistance and establish positive transference in the early stages of the process and as a means of control as treatment proceeds. The first week or two of treatment are devoted to training in hypnosis, in which the end sought is to enable the patient to pass into a deep trance almost as soon as instructed to do so, to revert memorially to earlier periods of life and to verbalize freely in the trance state, and to carry out post-hypnotic suggestion for either amnesia or recall under complete control of the therapist. Free association is then used, supplemented by hypnosis when serious resistance to revealing crucial material is encountered. Hypnosis is also utilized in re-education and in dissipating the transference. The usual psychoanalytic objection to hypnosis—that the total personality fails to participate in the disclosures made in the trance state and is consequently robbed of the cathartic value of working through the precipitating events—is overcome by giving the patient complete amnesia for events transpiring during hypnoidal sleep. If the trance-produced materials are memorially valid, they are invariably repeated soon after the hypnoidal session. In this process the ego participates fully. The mechanism involved is apparently the weakening of resistance through a subliminal appreciation of a diminished need of preserving "secrets." Through this method the time element in orthodox psychoanalysis is reduced to three or four months.

In his theoretical preface to the case study, Dr. Lindner is less successful in establishing a psychopathic diathesis than in disclosing the factors precipitating the psychopathic state. He is no doubt on sound ground in claiming that these factors "must produce the psychopathic personality only when they occur in an organism already prepared or predisposed for the psychopathic role." But does this preparation consist, as the author suspects, in a "malfunctioning of the higher cortical regions which are presumed to exercise restraint and control over those lower 'centers' through which basic drives and motives are mediated," so that "a specific *anlage* of psychopathy may be a structurally defective brain?" If so, the factors causative of psychopathy are clarified only at the expense of those involved in therapy. For on the hypothesis that the differentiating cause is a defective brain structure, we are left dangling without explanation of the happy outcome which Dr.

Lindner records in Harold's case: "He knows that he was a psychopath: he knows why he was a psychopath: he knows that he needs to be a psychopath no more. . . ."

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Duke University

DR. GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER. By Shirley Graham and George D. Lipscomb. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1944. 248 pp. \$2.50.

This biography of Dr. George Washington Carver by Shirley Graham and George D. Lipscomb is deceiving. I had heard that it was written for children's consumption. As a matter of fact I note its review in *The Chicago Sun* of May 7, 1944, is placed under "Children's Books." To this reviewer it is an infinitely more scientific and searching analysis of Carver's personality than the earlier biography by Rackman Holt which was assumed to have been written for adult consumption. True, on the surface, the Graham-Lipscomb tome is popularly written, reads easily, and in this sense is good for children, but on the other hand it has qualities, inferences, and implications that rise far above, not only any juvenile book, but above that of the average biography. It may have been intended for or directed at children but its style and its message will appeal to all ages and intellects.

For a long time I have been searching libraries and scrutinizing every new book as it came off the press to locate a biography of a Negro which would demonstrate the techniques, conscious or unconscious, whereby he or she surmounted the handicaps due to race and rose to the greatness which merited a published biography. Such a study would be of inestimable value, not only in stimulating other members of the same minority group to overcome the handicaps and inferiority complexes growing out of the biological accident of color but, what is infinitely more important, in showing them *how* to accomplish these ends. Most biographies concerning minority group characters emphasize *the great problems which the hero overcame* when as a matter of fact what would be most useful to members of a minority group is to know *how the hero overcame the problems*. The nearest thing to this type of biography which I have seen to date has been Edwin Embree's *Thirteen Against the Odds*. Unfortunately, however, Embree's book is not a biography of a single individual but rather a series of thirteen biographies and Mr. Embree consequently could not present an intensive discussion

of any one person. Yes, the Graham-Lipscomb Book is unique in that it points out the techniques by which a member of a minority group can succeed in a hostile world as contrasted with the majority of biographies which are so lavish in praise of their central characters that they have no real value so far as stimulation to emulation and self-improvement is concerned.

There is another outstanding and novel feature of the Graham and Lipscomb biography which this reviewer has not seen in any other book or short article concerning Carver. I refer to the author's recognition of the fact that the basic problem of Carver's life, and the survival strategy which he developed to overcome this problem and his subsequent rise to greatness, possessed a strong psychic element.

No other student of Carver's life has made so clear the relationship between his preoccupation with inanimate nature and his early handicaps. These were, first, an inability to speak intelligibly, for a number of years, because of impaired vocal chords torn by a racking cough acquired when he was left on the bare ground in a drenching rain by night riders who had kidnapped his slave mother; second, the fact that he was an orphan; and, third, the isolation of a small Negro boy in a white milieu; and finally racial frustration in general. He found his solution for all of these problems which were, in a sense, one big problem—isolation—in identifying himself with a "cause" which in its immutability was above isolation and race prejudice. The youthful soul feeling insecure sought to master its insecurity through preoccupation with the products of the soil, with the vegetables, the trees, the flowers—yes, even with the lowly weeds and the soil itself. No human has as great a sense of importance or of reality than one who creates. This escape mechanism may have been adopted and used by other Negroes in somewhat similar situations but, if so, it did not result in greatness or in a biography because there was lacking that spark of genius which was inherent in Carver. But nevertheless, these others, these average persons of a minority group probably accomplished beneficial results for themselves—although not making a great contribution to society. It is clear from Graham and Lipscomb's work that Carver might have become as great a painter or musician as a naturalist although probably he followed that path in which he could best excel.

The third unique finding of the two authors is

the relationship between Carver's interest in the non-human living species and his African background. There is some resemblance between Dr. Albert Schweitzer and Carver in this quality. Both Schweitzer and Carver carry a reverence for life beyond that of mere reverence for *human* life. Schweitzer is the German Scientist-Physician-Cleric who long before the War chose to bury himself in Equatorial Africa as a Medical Missionary and who is still there. Both had a delicate regard for the sanctity of the life in animals, trees, flowers, earthworms, birds, and fishes. Dr. Schweitzer has spent the greater portion of his life in Africa; Carver, a child born of slave parents, was associated during a portion of his life with people who had had physical contact with their African ancestors. Both Carver and Schweitzer obtained a great deal from the primitive African worship of trees and other objects of nature. Carver's talking to the trees and flowers was no concept of the author's imagination. It undoubtedly stemmed out of the African religious concept that trees, flowers, stones, and the like had a language of their own. I do not know whether Graham and Lipscomb intended to prove or maintain that Carver's reverence for nature was a form of religion, but one who reads this biography simply cannot escape this feeling. While it was undoubtedly the device of "intellectualization" which Carver used to overcome the temptation to take refuge in some fantastic escape mechanism to avoid the discomforts of isolation and racial prejudice, yet undoubtedly Carver deliberately avoided the mechanistic phases of "intellectualization." His delicate nature undoubtedly shied away from sublimation through identification with formal industry, political groups, racial advance organizations and the like. It was probably a deeper motivation than mere distaste for money or loyalty to Tuskegee that caused him to refuse the tremendously remunerative offers of positions with the Ford Automobile Company and other industrial organizations.

Realistic goals sometimes do not appeal to the frustrated person because they are not as colorful as fantasy. But Carver picked a goal which was as realistic as life itself and yet whose color content and spiritual richness were limitless. More than that, Carver seemed to be able to sense forces in the universe which have a tremendous bearing upon human personality but which have yet to be thoroughly appreciated by society in general. Note how he was "transported" when listening to Mrs.

Milholland's playing of the music of the great masters. Consider how enraptured he became when Miss Budd made clear to him the possibility of developing into a real art the pictures of trees, brooks, rabbits, squirrels, and flowers that he had been drawing and painting on scraps of paper and the like. These were all logical parts of one pattern. He recognized the socializing value of color (painting) sound (music) and form (sculpture).

Yes, Carver was more than an agricultural chemist, more than a great naturalist. He was a great religious character in the true sense of the word and perhaps was one of the few human beings who before they die are able to get a glimpse into the Infinite. The authors describe one of the visits of Henry Ford to George Carver. They made it obvious that there was in this visit more than a paternalistic interest on the part of a wealthy man in a great scholar. There was even more than mutual admiration. Perhaps it was that the white man who had reached a peak in mechanical inventiveness never before attained by another human and the black man who had reached a similar peak in the realm of agricultural chemistry were able together to look over the great wall into the absolute.

Most biographies of Carver have tried to attach his reverence for all forms of life to an American Negro slavery background. All of them except Graham and Lipscomb missed entirely the roots which went back to Africa. Graham and Lipscomb while they did not thoroughly or adequately develop this thesis at least evidenced an awareness of it.

I don't know enough about the writing styles of Shirley Graham or George Lipscomb to be able to discover the individual contributions of either of them—although it seems to me that I detect the style of a research person on the one hand and that of a romanticist on the other.

In *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist*, Graham and Lipscomb accomplish the seemingly impossible. They present a book which is written in a popular, almost lyrical vein which is yet a searching character study.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON

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RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE SOVIET UNION. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3, June, 1944. 344 pp. Paper, \$1.00; Cloth, \$2.00.

In this notable issue, the editors of the *American Sociological Review* have broken new ground in a

fruitful field that should widen its circle of readers and make a real contribution both to our understanding of society and to the building of peace. The symposium is described by the editors as "an adventure in descriptive sociology," designed to give a factual picture of present conditions and recent trends in Russian society and culture.

Its thirteen articles are grouped under four general headings: (1) population and ecology, (2) social structure, (3) institutions, and (4) values and knowledge. The authors represent various levels of scientific competence, background knowledge, and participation in Russian life, which makes for uneven quality. Although we expect considerable bias in any group of writers on the Soviet Union, most of the present authors hew to the scientific, rather than the Party line, and there is no evidence of anti-Soviet prejudice.

Two brief but very significant studies of population trends and migration by Frank Lorimer and Eugene Kulischer, outstanding research specialists in the fields, open the symposium. Here are sketched in the clear, concise language of science the whole course of revolutionary change from the simple culture of feudal agriculture to the Soviet civilization of advanced regional planning, great industrial cities and mechanized collective farming. In human terms, we see the appalling wastage of war, revolution, and famine, and the rapid rebound of births in the early twenties to fill the depleted ranks. The rise of social technology, urbanization, and the new position of Soviet woman push down the birth and death rates after the reaction from War Communism.

In the late twenties and early thirties, the agricultural revolution, even more threatening to old patterns of behavior throughout the world than the October Revolution, completed the cycle of change from feudal folkways to behavior dominated in all fields by advanced social technology and the machine. Clear traces of this stupendous change are seen in mass migration, in the still-falling birth rate, and in a lost population of four million, many of whom must have belonged to the army of farmers who lost their lives in a reorganization of agriculture that may make freedom from hunger a reality for the whole world. The record of regional planning and industrialization is written in the shifting of population from farm to city, from the central industrial area and the old farming districts to the regions of the national minorities and the outposts of the Union, and in the tradi-

tional drive of the Russian frontier toward the East.

In the middle thirties, the most drastic of the many shifts in Soviet policy brought at least a partial return to the old folkways and for the moment relieved some of the austerity of Russian living. This change is sharply registered in the rising birth rate, reflecting the return to the old large family pattern, enforced for city women by the law against abortion. Whether this and a host of other concessions to the war effort will prove to be the strategic "two steps back" before "three steps ahead" the figures do not tell. They show, however, that an enlarged cohort of Russian youth due to the revival of the Russian family folkways may be expected in the latter half of this century and that they may well follow a pioneering road toward the East where they will face our own youth across the airways of a shrunken Pacific.

Will these young people, Russian and American, have a heritage of social techniques, organization, and common values strong enough to let them join hands in the building of a world society where East and West can meet on equal terms? The answer probably lies in the social discoveries and inventions to be listed in future studies of social change in our two great countries. Even now, however, the last three sections of the present volume show that Soviet youth of the next generation has a tremendous heritage of new and valuable patterns of human behavior, some tested and fully adopted, some discarded under the impact of revolutionary change and war, others still unproved. Among the new patterns of behavior that have been discarded or greatly modified since the middle thirties are those of the family, religion, and certain aspects of education. The authors covering these fields give us an interesting picture of present policies and of the trend toward recognition of the older societal values in time of war. The most valuable data are contributed by Dr. Eugene Medynsky of the Lenin Pedagogical Institute in Moscow. The cooperation of Soviet specialists in symposia of this kind is an important innovation which should be continued.

Several of the authors in the section on institutions, while they report current conditions adequately, show the bias of the current Party line in interpretation. This is particularly evident in the attempt to mask the nature of recent change by contending that the war-time mobilization of the old values of family, nation, and religion is a logical

development of the trend established at the time of the October Revolution. It would be difficult to find an equation for the trends that lead from the planned disruption of the family in the twenties to the reenactment of the home and the large family in the late thirties, from the International to the rehabilitation of Peter the Great and Alexander Nevsky, or from the school of *Kostia Ryabtseff* to the present school of sex-segregation, discipline, and marks. Certainly they are not straight line trends.

John Hazard's authoritative article on Soviet law, however, shows that the basic forms of economic behavior developed in the early period of the Revolution according to Marxian theory are still operating in full force. Another important trend which continues unbroken into the war period is the Soviet policy toward minority groups (except those of German origin) within the Soviet Union. Here, as in the economic sphere, the new ways of the Revolution were far more effective than the old folkways in maintaining war potential.

William Mandel presents a weak case for political democracy in the Soviet Union. He bolsters his argument by the surprising statement that economic and political limitations on democracy in Russia are of no practical importance to the Soviet citizen and that one-party rule does not greatly hinder democratic procedure. The whole article abounds in observations of doubtful validity, such as the suggestion that the attitude of the Soviet citizen toward the secret police is very little different from that of most American citizens toward the FBI (page 265). It is unfortunate that the truly democratic features of Soviet daily living are not presented more effectively.

Dr. B. Moore's objective study of Communist Party documents gives a vivid and realistic picture of the actual mechanism of party politics and a most interesting analysis of recent trends within the Party. This is a very valuable piece of research for students of sociology and political science, who rarely have access to the source material in Russian.

In the final section, Joseph K. Folsom and Nikander Strelsky present an interesting theoretical framework and some analysis of Russian values, attitudes, and types. They do not come to grips, however, with the fascinating problem of current change in Soviet types and values—and their final association of Marshal Stalin with Christ would be as surprising to the Marshal as it is to this reviewer.

Ina Telberg's study of heroes and villains of Soviet Drama opens up an interesting line of objective study, but as in the case of the Folsom-Strelsky study, the preview of unpublished work is too brief to cover the field adequately. In the last paper of the symposium, Vladimir D. Kazakevich describes the present research and teaching set-up and charts Marxian division of disciplines which is often so confusing to American scholars. Here, as in many other fields, the new wartime trend toward recognition of the old values in philosophy, history, and literature seems clearly established.

The present volume is a landmark in the work of the American Sociological Society. It should be widely used as text or supplementary reading in courses on population, folk-regional sociology, social institutions, and social change, as well as in special courses on Soviet culture and institutions. Its value to research students, however, would have been much increased by the addition of a bibliography. It is to be hoped that the editors of the *Review* will establish their contribution to the winning of the peace by following up this initial success with a series of comparable studies covering social trends in other lands and other times.

ALICE DAVIS

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THE FUTURE POPULATION OF EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION. By Frank W. Notestein, Irene B. Taeuber, Dudley Kirk, Ansley J. Coale, and Louise K. Kiser. (Series of League of Nations Publications of the Office of Population Research, Princeton University) New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 315 pp. \$2.75.

This able volume is proof of the fact that good population analysts do not make population predictions; they make population projections. These projections of the future population of Europe, carried forward by five-year age groups and by five-year periods from 1940 to 1970, appear to be comparable to the low-fertility assumptions developed by Thompson and Whelpton for the United States. They apply a comparable scheme to 29 countries in various phases of the population cycle and take no account of the probable effects of war and future migrations. Under these conditions it is obvious that the work represents population projections rather than predictions. The methods for this study are discussed in a series of Appendices

whose review may well be left to the statistical journals.

The conclusions of this analysis appear to be inescapable. The great demographic revolution in Europe is drawing to a close. The period of rapid population expansion is past, but the over-all figures conceal diverse trends that prove to be familiar to all population students. The projected population of the highly industrialized countries of Northwestern and Central Europe, already in the late stages of demographic evolution, will decline from 234 million in 1940 to 225 million in 1970. In agrarian Southern and Eastern Europe, the projections indicate an increase from 165 million to 192 million people in the same period. The most striking prospect developed by this analysis is the enormous growth of Soviet Russia from 174 million in 1940 to 251 million in 1970. This prospective increase of 77 million in 30 years exceeds the present population of Germany proper!

The analysis is woven against the background of these projected figures. Chapters are devoted to the effects of war, the aging of the population, future manpower, woman's position in reproduction and production, the burden of dependency as between youth and old age and probable policies of the next decades. Excluding Russia, Europe's population deficit resulting from World War I is estimated at over 22 million, divided as follows: 6½ million military losses; 5 million excess civilian deaths; and 12½ million deficits in births. The authors' estimate that World War II will cause no greater losses in proportion fails to carry as much conviction as it did when made at the end of 1943. Aging of the population will give a much less flexible working force in every country by 1970. More persons are now entering the working age, 15-64, than are leaving it by death or the attainment of retirement age. By 1970 the projections indicate that in Western and Central Europe there will be only three entrants for every four persons departing the working force by reason of death or retirement.

Population pressure should decrease; out-migration will become relatively unimportant; and countries suffering from lowered fertility may wish to attract migrants. Russia will be in the best position of all for it has the resources and the economic organization to support its rapidly growing population. Agrarian Europe of the East and South will have the example of Western Europe to guide its course into increased industrialization

and lowered fertility and mortality. It is Western and Central Europe, led by countries like France, Sweden, and Britain, that must attempt the uncharted waters of population decline. How dynamic an economy can countries support in this untried demographic position? Undoubtedly these countries will attempt to "buy births" by means of increased social security, family benefits, etc. Under present conditions it is doubtful whether their problems can be solved by foreign immigration, decreased mortality, family subsidies, or a combination of all three.

This is a vital book—one that should be pondered by every serious student of the world's future.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

SELECTIVE FACTORS IN MIGRATION AND OCCUPATION, A STUDY OF SOCIAL SELECTION IN RURAL MISSOURI. By Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and Cecil L. Gregory. The University of Missouri Studies, XVIII. No. 2. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1943. 166 pp. \$1.50.

The study reported in this monograph is an excellent contribution to the field of research in migration differentials and occupational selection. The report begins with a statement of the general theory of social selection, followed by specific propositions regarding selectivity in migration and occupation. The first chapter includes also a brief review of previous related studies and a description of the method employed in the study reported. Six succeeding chapters actually present the findings, with tables, charts, and textual discussion, and a final chapter is devoted to summary and conclusions.

The study covered 5,461 persons who had been in high school in 97 rural Missouri communities between 1920 and 1930. Data were obtained from school officials, parents, postmasters, and others as to present (1938) location and occupation of each person, as well as residence, scholastic rating, and occupation of parents at time of high school attendance. A "scholastic index" was constructed by assigning to the five proficiency marks used in Missouri schools arbitrary scale weights of 0, 1, 2, 3, and 4, obtaining an average score for each student on the basis of all ratings received during his high school period, and expressing the individual's score as a percentage of the average for his school. This index was used in the study as an approxima-

tion to a measure of "intelligence" in exploring migration and occupational differentials.

Only the highlights of the 37 salient findings summarized in the last chapter can be mentioned here. Migration appeared to be selective of ability, with selection in the rural-urban movement much the same for both sexes, but differing in the relative selectivity exercised by cities of different size classes and of different locations for males and females. Middle-size cities had a greater relative pulling power for females; large-size cities for males.

More women left the home community than men but fewer women than men migrated to other States, probably due to the difficulties encountered in obtaining certification for teaching in other States. Males living on farms showed less tendency than village boys to migrate, while only a slightly lower proportion of farm than village girls migrated.

The mean scholastic index for the various occupational categories showed a pattern of occupational selection much the same for the sexes. Two exceptions to the generally expected occupational differentials were noted: male skilled workers had an average well below that of farmers and of unskilled males; female clerical workers had a higher average than female professionals. No explanation is offered for these inversions from what might be expected.

In conclusion, the authors present a discussion of the implications of migration and occupational selectivity for our society and for educational policy. Though migration selection may in the long run have a dysgenic effect on rural society, the best stocks would not be depleted within a few generations. Nevertheless, the findings do not support the Jeffersonian fear of an "urban rabble," since urban areas do appear to attract more than their proportionate share of the brighter and better-educated children from rural areas.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

DEMOCRACY REBORN. By Henry A. Wallace. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1944. 280 pp. \$3.00.

This book is a collection of Wallace's speeches and writings from 1933-1944. There are contained in this some 55 speeches and other writings which issued from Henry Wallace both while he was Secretary of Agriculture and Vice President of the United States. The reader is struck by three facts.

The extent and depth of Wallace's ideas are amazing. His speeches cover topics ranging from the "Cotton Plow-up" (1933) to "The Power of Books." These speeches are not the utterings of a dilettante. Henry Wallace speaks in terms of familiarity with the problems of economics as well as the great books of our times. Coupled with this erudition is a faith in democracy which shines through all he says. The constant theme of all Wallace says is his concern with the general welfare and its relation to the perseverance of democracy. Democracy seems to be a method for achieving the general welfare of the common man. Opposition to Henry Wallace in political circles is the result of his continual fight for this goal. The third element in Wallace's speeches is his ability to coin phrases that stick. Some of these have become popular slogans. Such expressions as "general-welfare economics," or "economy of abundance," and the "century of the common man" are significant phrases descriptive of a point of view.

Wallace sees the problem of peace and democracy to consist in the adequate provision of the necessities of life to *all* people everywhere. Not only this but he feels that unless labor is utilized to the fullest extent possible, we are doomed for more trouble. This, however, will necessitate a continual rise in standard of living. There is tacitly implied that the so-called law of supply and demand as it functions in a scarcity economy will need to be replaced or re-interpreted. Prices can be kept up by ever-increasing demands. Demands can be increased by providing full employment. Unemployment must be avoided. "The greatest economic sin is waste of human labor" (p. 29). One function of the government is to regulate economic activity in order to assure full utilization of all resources "on behalf of abundance economics" (p. 36). Planned production is necessary but the planning should be done by the people and not by high-pressure groups.

To those who argue that the masses will never think in terms of general interest, Wallace points out that we have never tried to reward people to induce them to do so. Our society encourages and rewards the exact opposite. "The world was meant to be one world" (p. 70) and unless we encourage the general welfare point of view there will be continual strife. What we need, Wallace believes, is not regimentation but rewards for action in the general interest. And the general interest is not a vague concept for him. That is in the gen-

eral interest that provides jobs, health, security, freedom, business opportunity, good education and peace for all and not merely for a few.

The book also contains an interesting sketch of Wallace's background.

LOUIS O. KATTSOFF

University of North Carolina

THE PEOPLE OF ALOR: A SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF AN EAST INDIAN ISLAND. By Dr. Cora Dubois. With analyses by Abram Kardiner and Emil Oberholzer. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1944. 654 pp. \$7.50. Illustrated.

The People of Alor helps close a gap in ethnological literature. For rich as are many of the classic monographs in intimate detail, yet none of them gives adequate descriptions of character structure and its relation to culture pattern.

Of late, in an approach to this problem of the relation of character structure to culture pattern, Dr. Abram Kardiner has applied the concepts of psychoanalytic depth psychology to a number of primitive cultures. He published these results in *The Individual and His Society*. Often, neither monographic literature nor the cooperating ethnologists were able to supply relevant facts or observations. Field work, specifically oriented to make pertinent observations and to test specific hypotheses were needed. Dr. Cora Dubois' *The People of Alor* is a direct outgrowth of Dr. Kardiner's work.

Alor, an island in the Netherlands East Indies just north of Timor, lies 8 degrees south of the equator and between 124 and 125 degrees longitude east of Greenwich. Here Dr. Dubois chose for study a group of pagan mountaineers, the Atimelang, whose language had never been formally studied. To this tongue she gave the name of *Abui*.

The Atimelang live primitively in a mountain valley in a complex of five villages. Dr. Dubois lived among these peoples for some two years during the 1938-1940 period. Her work was conducted in Dutch, Malayan, and eventually in Abui, with the additional check throughout her studies against Malayan transcriptions of the native communications made by a native interpreter.

The People of Alor begins with an introduction to the problem and its setting. Then the author describes in a series of chapters the genetic facts of Alorese infancy, early childhood, late childhood, adolescence, and marriage, followed by a chapter on adults and institutions, and by one on religion. This section deals with the developing character

structure in relation to institutions and stereotyped culture patterns.

At this point in the volume, Dr. Abram Kardiner writes a summary of these materials. This chapter, entitled "Some Personality Determinants in Alorese Culture," integrates Dr. Dubois' descriptions into a systematic picture.

The next section of the book is a series of eight Alorese autobiographies, including both men and women. The Atimelangers used for autobiographical purposes are, says Dr. Dubois, "on the whole, average Atimelang adults." They serve the important function of delineating the common Alorese *modal* or *basic* personality pattern. And at the same time, they offer enough comparisons to illuminate individual differences in this *modal* character.

The final section of the volume consists of four chapters, each one devoted to results of a particular psychological test believed to have transcultural value. Dr. Dubois chose for her psychological measuring instruments the Porteus Maze, a word association test modeled after that of Kent-Rosanoff, children's drawings, and the Rorschach test.

Dr. Porteus scored and interpreted Dr. Dubois' results on the Porteus Maze. Mrs. Schmid-Waehner was consulted as an expert in interpreting the children's drawings. And Dr. Emil Oberholzer scored and interpreted the Rorschach material in a "blind" diagnosis.

These psychological tests are said to confirm the descriptive ethnological material. The descriptions of a trained ethnological observer, however, still produce the most revealing and basic results. Rorschach and children's drawings are, after all, a lame second in ethnological field work. It is regrettable that the tests could not have been interpreted in the field and there used for further checking.

The People of Alor is rich in ethnological materials. But even more than its specific results, the general plan of the study is a contribution to ethnology. First, the approach to field study by gathering materials for testing specific hypotheses is an application of modern scientific methods to this predominantly descriptive field. Second, the use of a many-sided approach to the study of a culture, including numerous psychological tests, sets a pattern for much future work.

The volume includes one map, 17 zinc, and 86 halftone prints.

FLETCHER MCCORD

University of Kansas

CITIES OF LATIN AMERICA. By Francis Violich. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1944. 241 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.

A new world civilization will be possible if North American technical skill can be combined with Latin American imagination in housing and city planning. This is the theme of the first authoritative socio-technical volume on Latin American urbanism, a book whose spirit and teleology are akin to Mumford's *Culture of Cities*. Mr. Violich covered 22,000 miles during 1941-1942 studying what was consciously being done to improve urban conditions in Central and South America. There he found envy of North American technical skill and eagerness to learn from us, eagerness to discuss their problems rather than to boast of their numerous fine achievements.

"We take a lot for granted here in the United States." The author opens with these words which mean, among other things, that Latins know us far better than we know them. He believes that we can learn from them how to make our sterile cities more human, more habitable, more urbane. We have technical skill but we tend to disregard the human being. "In no Latin American seaside city did I find a single case where private privilege had preference over public use of natural scenic areas" (p. 203). For waterfront treatment, compare Rio de Janeiro with San Francisco; for the community use of beaches, compare Montevideo with Miami Beach; for city surgery, consider the arterial relief of congestion as represented by the Avenida 9 de Julio in Buenos Aires, for we have not recently done anything comparable; for boldness of plan, São Paulo and Goiania surpass anything we have done with our cities of like setting and character. "We can learn from the Latins."

That they have much to learn from us is equally emphasized. They need more technical personnel to lead them forward in industrial development, more planned development of resources, more democratic legislation on planning from national to local levels with citizen participation, more decentralized housing laws. To correct the "warped national economy of the republics, there must be rational planning of the development of resources." Our urban sociology is needed because one of the chief obstacles to adequate urban planning is their lack of basic demographic and ecological data. Insofar as technology has been applied to human needs, Latin American cities approximate the position in which our cities were some fifty years ago.

Of this their technicians, some of whom have studied planning at our leading universities, are well aware. The author was told many times that too many students in Latin America go into the professionally "right" subjects of medicine and law, that such subjects as soil conservation, sanitary engineering, public health, and sociology "so vital to the future of the countries, are considered socially somewhat tabu."

"Two-thirds of Latin America is ill-housed." So striking are the descriptions of slum types—the *conventillo* of Chilean cities or the *favela* of Rio de Janeiro, for example—that the reader can smell them, that is, if he knows Euro-American slums. But the Latins are working hard on the problem: Buenos Aires had a public housing project as early as 1910, though Argentinian housing has not yet reached large groups of the working class; Uruguay, the most socially advanced country in South America, with no extensive slum problem, has well planned projects of subsidized housing for low income groups; Brazil and Chile tie in their housing with the social security program. Generally, rural housing standards are low, Chile being the only country with a government rural housing agency, one that corresponds somewhat to our recent Farm Security Administration.

In the chapter on problems—physical, economic, social, and political—the low income and low educational levels are stressed as two basic conditions that must be changed. That touchy subject, religion, is just touched: once at the end of the book and once in connection with Santiago, Chile, where the author was told that opposition to slum clearance comes not only from rightist landowners but also from the church which itself owns about one-fifth of the city. "High-sounding objectives such as hemispheric democracy and unity become pretty hollow words when you put them up against the 15-cent daily wage of Bolivian miners and their economic exploitation by tin companies whose chief customer is the U. S. A." (p. 194). Paraphrasing a passage on page 222: We must have the courage to move ahead to a new period of scientific understanding; we must have religion released to fulfill its higher function rather than as it is too often today, a mere "opiate to make bearable the misery of an existence on earth marked by mass poverty, disease, and ignorance."

Mr. Violich seems to see the future main stream of influence in planning and housing as flowing between the two Americas. It is likely, however, that as in the past, European patterns, plans, and

culture generally will for a long time be the dominant influence to the South. Our technology may help but we lag behind Europe in imagination, town planning, and housing, and it is even possible that we shall slow down still further. Although in several places he points to extensive regionalism, his references and use of the word "region" are generally limited to the metropolitan context.

This book, distinctive in format, nontechnical in style, is highly informative and authoritative. Word pictures and actual photographs reveal imagination, realism, planning, and re-planning in Latin America today in contrast to sixteenth century rigidities of city design as they were transplanted from Europe. The reader sees impressive avenue and spacious beach, depressing slum and crowded humanity, contrasts in poverty and wealth within and between countries. Because the volume combines so nicely the technical and the sociological aspects of Latin American urbanism, because its theme is developed in terms of international democracy, and because it is interestingly written, it should have wide appeal for those who think and study about the modern western world.

LEE M. BROOKS

University of North Carolina

A CENTURY OF LATIN AMERICAN THOUGHT. By William Rex Crawford. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944. 320 pp. \$3.50.

In the opinion of the author, Cultural Attache, United States Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, and at present chairman of the Sociology Department at the University of Pennsylvania, in contrast to our symbol of civilization, the machine and the businessman, the Latin-American republics first of all are believers "in the power of the idea" and "the intellectual elite, the pensadores." Therefore it was an excellent task to make us acquainted with 38 outstanding representatives of "the heart and soul" of our neighbors' culture—men who have interpreted the social reality around them: sociologists, publicists, moralists, philosophers. No doubt to the average educated North-American "the names of Latin American thinkers are hardly even names." It would be interesting to know how many of our authors of books explaining the inside of Latin America were familiar with these "names."

This book at least should be a required lecture of all future authors on the other Americas. Then they would understand better "much that is puzzling in the social and political as well as the cul-

tural life" of our neighbors and it would help a lot in complementing the civilizations of North and South America—the more so as Mr. Crawford successfully was eager "to give an honest account of the thinking of men who have been regarded as most able by Latin Americans themselves, and who have had the greatest influence in shaping the intellectual currents of their own countries or of all Latin America": Echeverria, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Bilbao, Rodó, Suarez, Bunge, Galvez, Rojas, Montalvo, Da Cunha, Freyre, Varela, Varona, Hostos, Ramirez, Vasconelos, to quote a part of them. "None has been excluded because of the character of his views." They are united in the same volume regardless of whether they like or hate our country, whether they are enthusiastic Hispanophiles or abominate Spain, whether they are communist or fascist, atheist or Catholic, whether they offer flattering pictures of the society of their countries or bitter attacks upon their nations' political and economic institutions.

Almost all of the 38 authors, however, "know how to say things beautifully." Many a reader will be astonished to find out how useful it is, even to the North American, to get acquainted with an Uruguayan thinker like Rodó and to hear that "specialization must not be allowed to lead to indifference to the general interests of Humanity; that could only be disastrous."

ALFRED MANES

Indiana University

CONTEMPORARY ITALY: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ORIGINS. By Carlo Sforza. Translated by Drake and Denise De Kay. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1944. 430 pp. \$3.50.

Count Sforza, an Italian liberal, a former minister for foreign affairs, and, at present, a leader in the attempt to restore Italy to the rank of stable, liberal governments in Europe, has here written of subjects "learned by long practice" and with a modesty that comes from "a continual lesson in the things of the world." As he anticipated, the result is a book of omissions, gaps, and disproportions, but also a book of some value in the important task of explaining the character and experiences of Italy to the world. It is not a book written from other books and it will not be understood by those uninitiated in the last three centuries of Italian history, but its impressionistic interpretations of men and events are often acute and illuminating.

Of special interest is Count Sforza's estimation of Mussolini and his fascist regime. This worthy he views as a political gambler ruling with fear and indecision over a nation that is progressively corrupted by political venality and cowardice. He believes that the real soul of Italy, which will again emerge, is near the very center of European culture and life and partakes of some of the finest elements of European thought. Also of interest is Sforza's estimation of D'Annunzio, the true originator of fascism, and his treatment of the Catholic question as revolving about personalities and outlooks of the various popes.

The book is rich in personal reminiscences, some of which appear for the first time and will ultimately be evaluated and woven into the interpretation of past events, but these do not always excuse errors of fact and date that appear in the text. Appendices of important dates and persons frequently make it possible to smooth out the episodic character of a narrative that is at times slowed down by a fulsome style. These faults must not, however, obscure the very real value of this most recent addition in Italian interpretive history nor distort the fact that Sforza possesses advantages beyond almost any other Italian for the writing of such a book.

JAMES L. GODFREY

University of North Carolina

A CENTURY OF JEWISH LIFE. By Ismar Elbogen. Translated from the German by Moses Hadas, with an appreciation of the author by Professor Alexander Marx. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1944. 814 pp. \$3.00.

The author of this book, Professor Ismar Elbogen, who died only a few days after he had written the last sentence of it, has been one of the most distinguished refugee scholars to reach this country after 1933. His training at the University and the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau as well as his distinguished service for more than three and a half decades at the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin fitted him excellently for the task for which he was selected after he had reached the U. S. A., namely to compose a concluding volume to Heinrich Graetz' classic *History of the Jews*. This still amazingly popular universal history of the Jewish people was completed as far back as 1870; the English edition appeared in 1898. It surely had become necessary to resume the threads where Graetz had left off and to rewrite

the dramatic history of the Jews in the last hundred years in the light of recent events.

Ismar Elbogen has mastered the task in the spirit of Heinrich Graetz who, in turn, had been deeply influenced by Leopold von Ranke and the other famous exponents of mid-nineteenth century historical scholarship in Germany. Elbogen's exposition of the most complex materials is clear and lucid, his style simple and unpretentious, his presentation of the utmost sobriety and objectivity. His aim is to describe the events and the trends of thought which underlie the events as nearly "as they have actually been." He has largely succeeded in doing so. This is a remarkable achievement in itself, considering the fact that we are nowadays flooded with emotional outbursts in the guise of scientific research, and furthermore considering the fact that the author's story contains of necessity the description of bitter party controversy among the Jews as well as of satanic hostility against the Jews. As a matter of fact, Elbogen outdoes Graetz by far in the art of historical impartiality. Neither Zionists nor anti-Zionists, neither Orthodoxy nor Reform will find much to blame on him.

In addition, Elbogen's range of vision is considerably wider than the one of Graetz. Graetz had centered his attention on the Jews of Central and Western Europe and neglected the mass settlements in Eastern Europe as well as the colonial settlements in overseas countries, especially in the United States of America. Elbogen tried to rectify this omission, to the effect that the history of the Jews in America appears now for the first time as part and parcel of the general history of the Jewish people and can be understood in this light. Likewise, Elbogen does not share Graetz' view on Jewish history as a history of untold suffering on the one hand and of lofty spiritual achievement on the other. He writes a social and political history of the last century which includes emancipation and reaction, mass migration and new adjustment as a major theme.

Professor Elbogen's work still lacks a social-psychological as well as a social-economic approach; it does not attempt a typology. The fruits of anti-Semitism are exposed but not its roots; speculators such as Strousberg and Reinach are not in the index and neither is the *Central-Verein*, the central organization of Jewish self-defense in Germany; not much is said on the Jewish youth movement, the Jewish labor movement, and

on the changed position of individual Jewish business in the era of late, bureaucratic capitalism. There are even some minor factual mistakes such as the designation of the radical Munich writer, Erich Muehsam, as Jew (p. 488) or the misspelling of Djamel Pasha, the Turkish commander in Palestine during the first World War, as Kemal Pasha (p. 460). But it must be granted that in Professor Elbogen's simple historical narrative the indispensable solid foundation is laid for any subsequent sociological evaluation of the portentous events of the last hundred years. The very disposition of the material suggests a sociological frame of reference: the Era of Liberalism (Book one) is followed by the International of Hate (Book two) and this, again, leads to the story of the Jewish Renaissance (Book three). There we have thesis, antithesis, and synthesis in a clear sequence. Books Four and Five play upon the variations to this three-fold thematic introduction: they tell about the World Unrest preceding the first World War and about the First World War and its Consequences; Book Five concludes with lively chapters on the Jewish national home in Palestine and on Hitler's total war against the Jews. Epilogue, notes, bibliography, and index form the conclusion.

It is in the epilogue that Professor Elbogen leaves the scholarly shell and ventures into the field of value-judgments. This is especially true concerning his remarks on anti-Semitism and on Zionism. As to anti-Semitism, the author draws attention to the fact that "the sly French aristocracy," "the brutal Polish colonels," "the treacherous Slovaks and Croats," "the greedy Magyars," "the murderous Rumanians," while they should be held as responsible for the Fascist outburst as the Germans, Italians, and Japanese, are never thought of in current considerations of moral reconstruction after the war. As to Zionism, he observes that, among Jews, "Palestine is no longer an issue today. . . anti-Zionism belongs to a past stage of history and so does the original Zionist ideology." This calm statement may prepare many Jews and Gentiles to agree with Professor Elbogen's expectation that "the gradual emergence of a self-respecting Jewish type and a new Jewish culture [in Palestine] will have a beneficent reaction on the Diaspora."

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Fisk University

MODERN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES AND WHAT THEY MEAN. By Louis Wasserman. Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1944. 287 pp. \$0.69.

Its author modestly terms this book a "primer of social doctrines—a happy medium, it is hoped, between the lifeless definition and the comprehensive analysis." After an introductory chapter on the nature of social change and an exposition of the ideological framework of democracy he proceeds to describe "each in a single chapter, the historical sources and the essential elements of the major social movements of our time." The gamut is run from Liberalism, Capitalism, and State Capitalism, through Utopianism, Marxism, Socialism, Soviet Communism, Anarchism, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, Christian Socialism, Fabian Socialism, the Single Tax, and the Co-operative Movement to Italian Fascism, Nazism, and Japanese Fascism. There follows a "glossary of world governments," giving a "brief description of their present political and economic structures, as measured by the impact of modern reform movements."

Although the treatment of this extended subject matter is necessarily very brief, it is competent. The objective in the case of each "ism" is a clear-cut description of its historical setting and a lucid statement of its principal tenets, without evaluation, criticism or refutation. The author shows a thorough familiarity with the various theories and movements of which he writes. His work should serve as a reliable introduction to contemporary social, political, and economic doctrines. It will be useful for reference or reading in connection with elementary courses in the social sciences. An appended list of selected readings includes the principal works on each subject discussed published in the United States and a few of those published in England.

CHARLES B. ROBSON

University of North Carolina

CONSERVING MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY. A REALISTIC DISCUSSION OF THE DIVORCE PROBLEM. By Ernest R. Groves. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 138 pp. \$1.75.

The timeliness of this book cannot be overestimated. It is definitely a challenge to the rapidly soaring divorce rate which threatens, immediately after the war, to reach an unpredictable and heretofore unreached high.

The book is intended primarily for those who are in doubt whether they should get a divorce. In his preface Professor Groves says, "In my three decades of experience in helping people in domestic trouble I have found the three most common problems brought to the counselor are how to make adequate preparation for marriage, how to improve sexual adjustment and whether to get or not to get a divorce" (p. vi). The main purpose of the book, therefore, is to help "perplexed wives and husbands who must decide to get or not to get a divorce, to think their problem through and make an intelligent decision" (p. v).

Professor Groves brings to this book on divorce a rich experience and background, not only of many years of counseling, but also of teaching, research, and study. Having thus grown out of the day's work, it is intensely practical and sane in its approach. Written in the author's always clear, lucid, concise style, the fourteen chapters are so full of information that every sentence counts. The subject is discussed under three main headings: (1) Motives for Divorce Commonly Recognized; (2) Motives Not Recognized; (3) When Your Decision Is Made. In a book such as this where every chapter holds information of value for someone, it is hardly fair to pick out a few for special comment. But this reviewer was particularly impressed with Chapter 3, *My Mate is Unfaithful*, largely because of its immediate practicality in terms of present-day strain, and the three chapters on Father or Mother Fixation, Failure to Grow Up, and Matrimonial Monotony—some of the major causes of "frustration and aggression"—especially since, as Professor Groves points out, they are so often the "motives not recognized."

Here is a book for everybody interested in and concerned with the conservation of marriage and the family. Every social worker, every minister, as well as every marriage counselor—in fact, everyone from whom advice in domestic problems may be sought—should not only be familiar with *Conserving Marriage and the Family*, but should have it accessible to hand to those who come seeking counsel.

KATHARINE JOCHER

University of North Carolina

PROBING OUR PREJUDICES. A UNIT FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. By Hortense Powdermaker. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. 73 pp. \$1.00.

This small book is the second in a series of manuals and resource units about race and culture problems sponsored by the Bureau of Intercultural Education. It seeks to help students understand the nature, origin, and effects of prejudices, and to lead them to recognize and take steps to reduce their own and others' prejudices. The author, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Queens College, New York, recognizes that they must be attacked from many angles, and so she offers this little volume as just *one* approach to the problem of overcoming them. The opening chapter explains in simple terms what is meant by prejudice. There follows a description of some of the forms it is taking in the world today, and a brief sketch of the forms it has assumed in the past.

The most illuminating portion of the book is the third chapter in which the author explains how prejudices begin and grow. Illustrations are given to show how children unconsciously absorb prejudices through their parents and other people in their immediate environment, how society through its social and economic patterns often tends to confirm or reenforce these, and how individuals are prone to strengthen their own prejudices through false generalizations, or through efforts to overcome their own insecurities. The idea that prejudices spring largely from fear or some sense of insecurity should prove quite illuminating to students. Case studies are made use of in Chapter IV to emphasize the effects of prejudice on the victims, the people who hold them, and the society of which all are a part.

The last chapter discusses five steps which a high school student may take to help eradicate his own or others' prejudices. These steps are rather general but are followed by suggestions for more specific activities which clarify some of the ideas presented or make more concrete the steps proposed. These were prepared by Helen Frances Storen, formerly Director of Social Studies, Ham-tranck, Michigan.

The book is well written. The author exhibits a happy facility in explaining terms and concepts. Because of the simple explanations and the use of case studies, most high school students in the eleventh and twelfth grades should not find it too difficult to understand. By itself, of course, a book

so small on a subject so involved cannot offer an adequate treatment of the topic. The author realized this and states in the Preface that it is expected that additional factual data on race, culture, and minority-majority group problems will accompany or follow its use. The need for such additional or accompanying material seems not only desirable but necessary if the book is to accomplish its purpose.

Furthermore, teachers will need to exercise great tact, even caution in using the book, for there are certain portions which seem to be of questionable value in a book designed to help reduce prejudice. These parts, the reviewer believes, are likely to restrict the usefulness of this otherwise helpful book. For instance, the questions—"Would you dance with a Negro?" and "If you owned a house in a white section, would you rent to Negroes?"—are included in the suggested activities in the last chapter. While these are given as a means of discovering prejudices and while an affirmative answer is not indicated as the only right one, the inclusion of such questions may tend to arouse emotions or fears because they may seem to some casual readers and to some students and parents in the South and elsewhere to imply free mingling of the whites and blacks in social affairs—to imply "social equality." The book would probably be more acceptable and therefore more widely helpful if certain references to the South as the area of greatest prejudice against the Negro, of the lowest income, and of the poorest schools were accompanied by a brief but sympathetic interpretation of why these conditions exist and what is being done to improve them.

Probing Our Prejudices is of interest not only because of its informing and illuminating content but also because it illustrates a type of instructional material which might enrich regular social studies courses for juniors and seniors and also be useful in personal and social guidance.

MARY SUE BEAM FONVILLE

*Broughton High School,
Raleigh, North Carolina*

PUBLIC RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. By Frederick William Muller. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 183 pp. Cloth edition, \$3.00; paper, \$2.50.

This book is essentially a picture of the rural electrification program from 1936, the year Congress passed the Rural Electrification Act, to the

outbreak of the present war, 1941. It traces the development of progress and policies from the early days when there was little in the way of blueprints to the outbreak of the war by which time the REA already had perfected its organization, established its policies, and achieved remarkable results in getting electricity to rural America.

This book is well planned. There are seven chapters: The Development of Rural Electrification; The Rural Electrification Administration; The Rural Electric Cooperative; The Control of Allotment and Construction; The Control of Operation; Program Planning; and Possible Future Developments. There is an index, and ten tables giving the main facts about various aspects of REA.

This volume discusses the growth of electricity on the farms, but in the main, as the table of contents indicates, it deals with the Federal REA: its growth from a skeleton organization feeling its way to full maturity in organization, program, policies. One exception is the chapter on The Rural Electric Cooperative which emerged as the instrument through which REA functions locally. More than 98 percent of all loans have been to cooperatives or mutuals. The Cooperative is the local agent, as the REA is the National agent. "Cooperation is the idea and the method that has made possible most of the rural electrification stimulated by the REA." By October 31, 1941, there were 721 of these cooperatives, some of them serving several counties.

This book does not deal with rural electrification by private industry. It is confined to the Federal REA program. It is a clear, concise picture of REA: its evolution, its organization, its policies, and how it functions through local cooperatives. It is much the best account the reviewer has seen.

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

University of North Carolina

SOYBEANS FROM SOUP TO NUTS. By Annie William Heller and Josephine McCarthy. With a Foreword by Walter H. Eddy. New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1944. 119 pp. \$1.25.

When is a cookbook not just a cookbook? When it is an instrument of sociological change. That is what this book and others on the subject may well become, for they bring to large masses of people knowledge of the practical use of a great food resource which other and larger masses of mankind have had from time immemorial.

For years now we have been deluged with facts about soybean: that it is the mainstay of countless millions in the Orient; that in food value it supplies more protein than beef, more minerals than vegetables, more lecithin than eggs, more vitamins than many fruits, more phosphorous than almost anything, oils for every purpose, a minimum of fattening starches, and an alkaline ash. But the hard fact is that cultural patterns are as strong in foods as they are in, say, religion; and cultural lags, or just plain prejudices, are difficult to overcome. Tested recipes which bring the soybean into familiar dishes and forms as these recipes do are the surest way of bridging the gap between our knowledge that it is probably a very fine food and our feeling that it is queer, outlandish and, to paraphrase Dr. Johnson's famous definition of oatmeal, a food for man in China and for pigs in America.

Soybeans from Soup to Nuts includes in the foreword and introduction a few brief notes on the history and tradition of the "miracle bean."

HARRIET L. HERRING

University of North Carolina

ONE HUNDRED GREAT YEARS. THE STORY OF THE TIMES-PICAYUNE FROM ITS FOUNDING TO 1940. By Thomas Ewing Dabney. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. 552 pp. \$4.00.

The life story of the New Orleans Times-Picayune is told by Thomas Ewing Dabney, A.B. University of the South, M.A. Harvard, diplomat, small newspaper publisher and for some years an editorial writer of the daily whose files he has searched, seined, and sifted for times and manners of New Orleans and Louisiana. It is rather a digested anthology, with here and there a bit of regurgitation in the accepted southern grand manner, perhaps, and one can pick it up or lay it down with equal ease; but the story is there.

It is not, nor apt to become, by way of being a best seller; but is worthy of inclusion in any thoughtful editor's handy books of reference or of a place in any American college or university library. Indeed it is more of a student's book than an inconstant reader's, and may be approached through its index with pleasure and profit.

If it were a trifle less heavy it would be a splendid volume to go to bed with, but even though a bit too didactic was worth the doing—after all lots of things beside the Mardi Gras, Sazerac cocktail,

and Huey Long have happened in and around New Orleans.

O. J. COFFIN

University of North Carolina

EARLY GEORGIA MAGAZINES. By Bertram Holland Flanders. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1944. 289 pp. \$3.00.

Bertram Holland Flanders' well done study of early Georgia magazines is a book that will offer much of value and interest to the sociologist. One turns the last page feeling much as did Frank Luther Mott when he wrote in his introduction to a *History of American Magazines*: "There is a certain fascination about old magazines. The distinctly human element is never long absent from their pages. . . . The quality which old magazines have of holding the mirror up to human nature is precious."

Early Georgia Magazines has successfully captured much of the richness of human existence that awaits the pen of the artist who sees literature, not as an isolated thing, but as an expression of the culture of a region. Mr. Flanders has sensed the relationships that exist between people and their land, and the significance of time, place, and cultural behavior as conditioning factors in literary production. Moreover, he has written skillfully of these and his book becomes in part the story of Georgia life, with now a bit of humor and now pathos as one sees the thorny path trod by the early editors and contributors.

The author has shown the extent to which literary magazines were published in Georgia before 1865 and has pointed out the types of literature included therein. Twenty-four magazines have been given intensive study. The author has indicated editors and contributors involved and has shown the centers of literary activity. Non-literary magazines are not treated, but are pointed out as fertile fields for investigation. The literary magazines are divided into three periods: the first, those published from 1837-1846; the second, 1846-1854 publications; and third, 1859-1865.

He has concluded that the literary periodicals of ante-bellum Georgia are of significance in the history of Georgia culture, even though attempts to establish them were often sporadic and ill-timed. He has shown that with a few notable exceptions the editors of these publications were native Georgians and of those who established periodicals none was what might be called in a true sense of the word a man of letters. More than fifty

literary magazines were published in Georgia between 1802-1865 but few attracted attention outside the state. Georgia magazines, the author concludes, contained practically the same kind of reading material as that found in periodicals all over the United States. The contributors came from numerous writers who cannot be classified by states or sections because of pseudonyms. The greatest number of magazines was published in Middle Georgia and reflected the influence of the leading institutions of learning. The publication of the humorous tale concerning the frontier is a distinct contribution to American literature, Mr. Flanders feels.

It is interesting to follow the trials of the Georgia magazines and their high mortality rate. These are the reasons discussed in reference to the difficulty of publication and support: lack of large literary centers, Southern interest in politics, insufficient means of credit, lack of advertising, poor management, nonsupport of the Southern people, and better facilities in the North for production and marketing.

Although Georgia produced no literary magazine that might compare with *The Southern Literary Messenger*, Bertram Flanders feels "that literary seeds were planted and Georgia was to reap substantial harvest from these early productions."

Attractive features of the book are the excerpts from old magazines, a section on editors, another on contributors, and a good bibliography. A series of units such as the author has done will be a necessity before a complete study of southern magazines can be made.

ANNA GREENE SMITH

University of North Carolina

DELINQUENCY AND THE COMMUNITY IN WARTIME. Yearbook, National Probation Association, 1943. Edited by Marjorie Bell. New York: National Publication Association, 1944. 307 pp.

In which direction do you look for the explanation of crime? Donald R. Taft of the University of Illinois suggests in the leading article in the present volume that most of us are accustomed to look in one of three directions. We either (1) "look for an abnormal personality and label it, say, a constitutionally psychopathic inferior," (2) "look for an abnormal experience" and "see the criminal as the product," or (3) "see the criminal as normal rather than abnormal... the product of our whole culture."

Whatever your standpoint in answer to this question, whatever your particular interest in connection with delinquency and especially its war-time aspects, one or another of the twenty-two articles that make up the 1943 Yearbook of the National Probation Association should appeal to you at least as relative, at best as informative and stimulating.

Recognition of such problems as a further increase in juvenile delinquency in many communities, with an accompanying increase in war-complicated juvenile court work, probation and parole administration, and, in the adult field, of such problems as the selection of probationers and parolees for military service, guided the choice of the main topic. The seven subheads are indicative in a general way of the nature of the particular papers contained in each. Crime and the Community comes first and is followed by Wartime Changes in Probation and Parole, Federal Wartime Protective Program, The War and Juvenile Delinquency, Delinquency Prevention Movements, Community Care of Delinquent Children, and Psychiatric Studies, Juvenile and Adult. Special mention of a few articles may illuminate these categories. For example, under Crime and the Community, Frank Luther Mott, Dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, gives some specific pointers on establishing good working relationships with newspapers in his Public Relations of Probation and Parole. Under Federal Wartime Protective Program, Whitcomb H. Allen of the Social Protection Division of the Federal Security Agency in San Antonio, Texas, presents quite a clear picture of Young Camp Followers in that section of the country and of efforts being made there to understand the problem in its whole social setting and to cope with it. In another section, writing of The Bar and Crime Prevention, Harold H. Krowech, Chairman, Juvenile Crime Prevention Committee, State Bar of California, points out specific courses of action that have been and are being taken by attorneys in the use of rehabilitative practices and corrective justice.

There are two more sections of the Yearbook, the first of which should be particularly useful to those actually engaged in work with delinquents. The Legal Digest presents briefly and by states changes that were made in the preceding year in legislation affecting juvenile courts, probation, and parole. The final section is the usual review of the

year's activities of the Association, with official reports, minutes, committee lists, by-laws, and form of bequest. Happily, there is also an index.

People aware of what is going on about them, alive to social processes in action, conscious of the American scene as a dynamic interrelated whole, intelligent in their appraisals of social problems, have in the main been the authors of this book. That such should be the case in one of the fields which sociology embraces is encouraging and stimulating. Our conventions and our journals do not often enough convey a similar impression about what the rest of us are doing and the kind of persons we are.

ELIZABETH BRIANT LEE

Wayne University

STREET CORNER SOCIETY. By William Foote Whyte. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. 284 pp. \$3.00.

Sociologist Whyte spent more than three years as a participating observer studying the social structure of an Italian slum area in "Eastern City." By living with an Italian family, by learning and speaking the language (he points out that until 1940 there were no professional social workers who could speak Italian though some of them had spent as much as twenty years in the district), by joining in manifold activities of young people, he gathered inside information on street corner life ("Cornerville") as it ties in with games, gangs, cliques, leaders, followers, racketeering, politicians and their devices, settlement houses, and social workers. If one looks for murder and sex, he will be disappointed for such references are conspicuously absent, almost as though neither occurred in street corner society. The reader can, however, become amply informed on bowling, the numbers racket, and learn his way around in other paths of sophistication. The author's aim "was to be a friend to the people" and his hope, that his book "might help Cornerville, . . . not bring harm to them." The sociological picture is one of social interactions, especially of social distance and mobility, of strivings for status.

First, in much detail, he deals with Corner Boys and a small group of College Boys, the latter headed for the professions. The more numerous Corner Boys usually have less than high school education, are relatively less influenced by settlement houses with their feminine atmosphere and by the social workers who are described as thinking of themselves in terms of one-way adaptation. Settlement and social workers—references to them being made interchangeably—receive much criticism from the author who sees them dealing with people who are moving upward and away from Cornerville and thus not winning the loyalty of most of the people in the area.

The second part, on Racketeers and Politicians, describes the workings of minor gears and levers on the political machine—"numbers" rackets, "beano" parties, etc.—as well as the connections and interconnections that reach high in state and nation. For Cornerville's politicians there are five prongs to their speeches: race, class, the candidate's personal appeal, his qualifications for office, and a statement of his political strength.

The author concludes that "Cornerville's problem is not lack of organization but failure of its own social organization to mesh with the structure of the society around it. This accounts for the development of the local political and racket organizations and also for the loyalty people bear toward their race [sic] and toward Italy. . . . Some ask, 'Why can't those people stop being Italians and become Americans like the rest of us?' The answer is that they are blocked in two ways: by their own organized society and by the outside world. . . . Cornerville people want to be good American citizens. . . . If a man wants to forget that he is an Italian, the society around him does not let him forget."

This informative, sociographic volume takes a deserved place with other careful studies of community and neighborhood, particularly with those recent works analytic of social cleavages and class structure in American society.

LEE M. BROOKS

University of North Carolina

BRIEFER COMMENT

ARTS AND CRAFTS—A PRACTICAL HANDBOOK. By Marguerite Ickes. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1943. 309 pp. \$3.00.

A CAMPING MANUAL. By R. Alice Drought. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1943. 167 pp. \$2.00.

NATURE IN RECREATION. By Marguerite Ickes. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1938. 114 pp. \$1.00.

The people of the United States are taking an ever increasing interest in the field of nature recreation. The use of our natural resources for hunting, fishing, hiking, camping, and nature craft are constantly growing in interest and importance. Here are brief reviews of a few new books directly related to this special interest.

Arts and Crafts is undoubtedly one of the most practical books yet published. The wide use of native materials and general scraps makes it of real value in the simple development of arts and crafts. Special attention is given to illustrations, design, and color. The fields of paper craft, silk screen printing process, book binding, weaving, leather craft, working in wood, metal work, puppetry, and pottery are introduced and directions given for practical activities. There is a very close correlation throughout all the book with the fields of nature lore.

There are many books in the field of camping especially designed for the administrator and counselor. Miss Drought has presented in her *Camping Manual* a very useful work for the amateur camper as well as professional leader. Along with the general organization and structure of the camp program through the fields of business management, feeding, counselor training, trips, and crafts, special emphasis is directed to health and safety. There is an interesting appendix with practical material enabling anyone to carry out specific activities. The book will be worthwhile to individuals, families, church groups, and various social agencies interested in promoting camping activities.

In addition to *Arts and Crafts* Miss Ickes has made a real contribution to the field of nature recreation in this book—*Nature in Recreation*. The fields of camping handcraft, dramatics, music, dancing, and aquatics have all been related definitely to nature. Illustrations abound throughout the work. Directions are clear, simple, and effective. The recreation leader, the parent, the teacher, and all laymen interested in youth will find the book intriguing through its fascinating ap-

proach of connecting so many of the fields of recreation with our natural environment.

H. D. M

LIVING WITH CHILDREN. By Gertrude E. Chittenden. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 156 pp. \$2.00.

GUIDING THE NORMAL CHILD. By Agatha H. Bowley. New York: Philosophical Library, 1943. 168 pp. \$3.00.

A PRIMER FOR PARENTS. By Frank D. Ashburn. New York: Coward-McCann, 1943. 196 pp. \$2.00.

UNDERSTANDING THE YOUNG CHILD. By William E. Blatz. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1944. 273 pp. \$2.50.

MODERN WAYS WITH CHILDREN. By Elizabeth B. Hurlock. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943. 382 pp. \$2.75.

DEVELOPMENT IN ADOLESCENCE. By Harold E. Jones. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. 161 pp. \$2.00.

CHILDREN CAN HELP THEMSELVES. By Marion O. Lerrigo. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. 219 pp. \$2.25.

CHILD CARE AND TRAINING. By Marion L. Faegre and John E. Anderson. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1943. 297 pp. \$2.50.

THE YOUNGEST OF THE FAMILY. By Joseph Garland. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943. 173 pp. \$2.00.

Living With Children and *Guiding the Normal Child* are both designed to interpret the development of the normal child from babyhood through adolescence and are written primarily for the student beginning the study of child life and incidentally for the parent. The first summarizes the findings of many studies of child life and the second draws much of its material from the experiences of individual children briefly presented as illustrations throughout the text.

A Primer for Parents presents an experienced school master's convictions as to the needs and problems of secondary education with emphasis upon the private school. It is addressed to parents.

Understanding the Young Child resulted from the need of a book to assist those in England who were caring for children in war-time nurseries. The definiteness of its purpose has given it an advantage over books compiled in the study for use as class texts and has made it one of the most useful of books written for parents whether living in England, Canada or the United States. It dis-

cusses the common, everyday problems of normal children with the insight of one of our most experienced and authoritative specialists in child life.

Modern Ways With Children is a psychological interpretation of childhood revealing the understanding now possessed by modern science.

The thoughtful parent and the serious student of child life will welcome *Development in Adolescence*. Adolescence is still the crisis period in the human career, least understood and therefore most neglected, even in the field of preventive medicine. The book is an attempt to portray the meaning of the experiences of youth by tracing them as belonging to an individual, John. He is pictured in his home during adolescence, as seen by his teachers and classmates, and as a member of social groups as one developing physically and mentally, and finally as he seems to himself as he struggles toward maturity.

Children Can Help Themselves is also built by using the history of an individual, David, through his first eleven years, as a means of illustrating the kinds of health behavior which are to be expected at different stages during a child's growth.

Child Care and Training is a new sixth edition of the book that is generally recognized as one of the best now available either for parents or young students who have the responsibility of dealing with young children or who wish to have a reliable guide through the problems of the growing child.

The Youngest of the Family is also a new edition of a book that has proved itself one of the best for parents who need help in taking care of the infant. This book deserves its well-established popularity.

E. R. G.

HOUSING FOR THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE WAR. A Report of the Committee on Postwar Housing of the National Association of Housing Officials. Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, May, 1944. Publication No. N193. 63 pp. \$0.50. Paper.

This report urges immediate planning for adequate housing for *all* families. Within a period of about fifteen years after the war, private enterprise and public housing together will have to produce an average of from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 dwelling units a year if the nation's housing supply is to approximate a satisfactory standard. The

booklet opens with a summary of the objective, the problem of housing adequacy in urban and rural areas, the role of government, a consideration of the immediate job (particularly the disposal of war housing), and the necessity for citizen participation. The Housing Association's committee, one representing varied interests and activities, has here set forth clearly and convincingly the principles that must be followed for a comprehensive housing program after the war. Some readers would, perhaps, like to find more emphasis on labor aspects and housing as an employment-provider.

L. M. B.

MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY. Edited by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943. 553 pp. \$3.75.

This symposium from the pens of twenty historians and analysts traces the development of the leading principles of military thought from the sixteenth century to the present day. Separate chapters are included for naval and air war, and the question is generally and acceptably covered from the standpoints of strategy, politics, and economics. The result is a very valuable addition to the field of military history which from almost every point of view is far too meager for the good of the republic.

J. L. G.

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY. By Clarence Tucker Craig. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943. 336 pp. \$2.75.

Even if merely regarded as a social movement the early history of Christianity is of the greatest interest and significance to the sociologist as a layman in a field where in recent years historical criticism has made great progress. He needs the concise, authoritative, and non-polemic discussion of the origin and spread of the gospel of Jesus. This is provided by Craig's *The Beginning of Christianity*. Within the limits of 336 pages it gives the reader a clear, unemotional but convincing record of the evolution of Christianity in five parts: The Background of the Gospel, The Announcement of the Gospel, The Beginning of the Church, The Expansion of the Church, The Consolidation of the Church. It includes a chronological table and a brief but carefully selected bibliography for students dependent on the English Bible.

E. R. G.

THE RED COCK CROWS. By Frances Gaither. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 313 pp. \$2.75.

Today when the future status of minority peoples is an urgent and not-to-be-ignored topic of discussion and concern, this novel of the old South has definite sociological implications, especially for those interested in the Negro. Its major theme is that of paternalism. The Negro slaves in Miss Gaither's novel were treated well—so well that one of them had been made headman on the Dalton plantation. Yet he became the leader of the revolt against those very white folks who had trusted him and who had provided generously for his material welfare, and whom he had served long and well. But what Scofield, together with the other slaves who acknowledged him their leader, wanted was freedom. Further into the future he had not projected himself. Doubtless he wanted even then what a selected group of more than a dozen eminent Negro leaders, in *What the Negro Wants* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), tell us that the Negro of today desires, among other things: "The Four Freedoms"; "Certain Unalienable Rights"; "Full Participation in the American Democracy."

K. J.

HOW TO BE THE SMART WOMAN IN WAR TIME. By Rebecca (Lynn). Illustrated by William A. Youngblood. Richmond, Virginia: The House of Dietz, 1944. 108 pp. \$1.50.

The sociologist has long known, through observation and study, and the social worker, through practice, that a well-integrated personality is a prime factor in the individual's social adjustment. Books like *How to Be the Smart Woman in War Time* attempt, more or less successfully, to impart this in nontechnical language, in an up-to-the-minute setting, and often addressing themselves to a particular group.

Designed more especially for the young woman, whose husband or sweetheart is in the service, *How to Be the Smart Woman in War Time*, is suggestive for everybody, but particularly for women. It follows a current pattern of intimate, person-to-person chats through more than forty lessons of home study. An interesting feature is an examination of social measurement to evaluate one's self

before and after taking the course. This is one of the better books of its kind.

K. J.

RURAL CASE WORK SERVICES. By Marjorie J. Smith. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1943. 62 pp. \$0.50. Paper.

FAMILY BUDGET COUNSELING. Edited by Dorothy L. Book. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1944. 92 pp. \$0.65. Paper.

Rural Case Work Services is the application of the case work process to public welfare, especially in the administration of public assistance. Individualization—of both client and community—is a fundamental principle, and the worker is cautioned against being "more conscious of the function of the agency than of the people whom he seeks to serve. . . . Workers sometimes forget that clients were not created for agencies but agencies for clients" (p. 1). Principles are illustrated by well chosen case material.

Today when the dearth of social workers has resulted frequently in the liberalizing of requirements, particularly in rural areas, *Rural Case Work Services* will be found a good "refresher" as well as a guide to the more or less uninitiated worker.

Linton B. Swift, in his Foreword to *Family Budget Counseling*, sums up its purpose and content in these words: "Family life for years to come will continue to be subject to the combined financial and psychological pressures of high cost of living, heavy taxation, pay-roll savings deductions, sudden increases or decreases in income, and fluctuations in the availability of consumer goods. Since these factors affect nearly all families and since the economic aspects of family life are significant in all forms of social work, we believe that this publication should have great usefulness in and beyond the social work field." The materials, provided by selected public and private agencies, were assembled under the responsibility of a sub-committee, of which Miss Book was the chairman. With the ever-growing need for financial counseling, this book should add much "to the case worker's understanding and appreciation of family economics as related to case work practice." Case illustrations and the appended Bibliography enhance the value of this real contribution to social work and family counseling.

K. J.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.** Ninth Revision. By Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 872 pp. \$4.00. Appendix.
- THE TROUBLED MIND. A STUDY OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASES.** By C. S. Bluemel. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1938. 520 pp. \$3.50.
- FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN AMERICAN LIFE. ESSAYS AND CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.** By David F. Bowers. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1944. 254 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.
- WARTIME FARM AND FOOD POLICY. PUTTING DAIRYING ON A WAR FOOTING.** Revised edition. By O. H. Brownlee. Ames, Iowa: The Collegiate Press, Inc., 1944. A Pamphlet of The Iowa State College Press. 64 pp. Tables.
- INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES FOR THE TREATMENT OF ALCOHOLISM.** By E. H. L. Corwin and Elizabeth V. Cunningham. New York: The Research Council on Problems of Alcohol, 1944. Research Report No. 7. 85 pp.
- A CENTURY OF LATIN-AMERICAN THOUGHT.** By W. Rex Crawford. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1944. 320 pp. \$3.50.
- INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Malvin E. Davis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1944. 399 pp. Appendices. Tables. \$2.75.
- CANADA: OUR DOMINION NEIGHBOR.** By Merrill Denison. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1944. 96 pp. Maps. Tables. \$0.25.
- THE FOOD FRONT IN WORLD WAR I.** By Maxcy Robson Dickson. Introduction by Claude Wickard. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 194 pp. \$3.25 cloth edition; \$2.50 paper edition.
- STATE OF THE NATION.** By John Dos Passos. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944. 333 pp. \$3.00.
- WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Louis J. Ducoff. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, September, 1944. 193 pp. Tables.
- ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SPORTS.** Revised and Enlarged. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1944. 628 pp. \$3.50.
- THE FAMILY TODAY: A CATHOLIC APPRAISAL.** Washington, D. C.: Family Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1944. 163 pp.
- THE LAST FRONTIER. A ROUSING AND INSPIRING STORY OF AMERICAN HISTORY.** By Howard Fast. Garden City, New York: The Sun Dial Press, 1944. 307 pp.
- PEACE—BY THE PEOPLE. PLAN FOR A CRUSADE.** By Dr. Oscar M. Fazekas and Preston Slosson. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Ann Arbor Press, 1944. 47 pp. \$1.00.
- RANDOLPH BOURNE.** By Louis Filler. Introduction by Max Lerner. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. \$3.00 cloth edition; \$2.50 paper edition.
- EARLY GEORGIA MAGAZINES.** By Bertram Holland Flanders. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1944. 289 pp. \$3.00.
- THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF EDUCATION: AN INTRODUCTION AND GUIDE TO ITS STUDY.** By C. M. Fleming. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. 110 pp. Appendix. \$2.00.
- MUNICIPAL RESEARCH BUREAUS. A STUDY OF THE NATION'S LEADING CITIZEN-SUPPORTED AGENCIES.** By Norman N. Gill. Foreword by Dr. Lent D. Upson. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 178 pp. Paper edition, \$2.50; Cloth edition, \$3.00.
- CONSERVING MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY. A REALISTIC DISCUSSION OF THE DIVORCE PROBLEM.** By Ernest R. Groves. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. 138 pp. \$1.75.
- SOCIAL DARWINISM IN AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1860-1915.** By Richard Hofstadter. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 191 pp. \$2.50.
- THE ECONOMICS OF DEMOBILIZATION.** By E. Jay Howenstine, Jr. With an Introduction by Dr. Alvin H. Hansen. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 336 pp. \$3.75 cloth edition; \$2.35 paper edition.
- MAGIC AND SCIENCE IN WESTERN YUNNAN.** By Francis L. K. Hsu. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943. 53 pp. \$0.50.
- THREE HORIZONS. CONVERSATION WITH TRUTH.** By Alice Riggs Hunt. Hawthorne, New York: Box 213 (privately printed), 1944. 192 pp.
- IDEAS IN AMERICA.** By Howard Mumford Jones. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1944. 304 pp. \$3.00.
- CASE STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF CRIME.** Volume Two. Cases 6-9. By Ben Karpman. Washington, D. C.: Medical Science Press, Station L, 1944. 738 pp. (The sale of this book is restricted to those having a direct professional interest in medico-legal and social problems.)
- NATURALISM AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT.** Edited by Yervant H. Krikorian. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 397 pp. \$4.50.
- FAITH, REASON AND CIVILIZATION. AN ESSAY IN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS.** By Harold J. Laski. New York: The Viking Press, 1944. 187 pp.
- LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS. WAR CONTRACT TERMINATION (Part II).** Durham, N. C.: Duke

- University School of Law, Spring, 1944. Volume X, Number 4. 696 pp. \$1.00.
- THE NAVAHO DOOR: AN INTRODUCTION TO NAVAHO LIFE.** By Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1944. 149 pp. \$4.00. Illustrated.
- ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL PUBLIC WELFARE SERVICES.** By Jarle Leirfallom and Major Russell P. Drake. Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1943. 63 pp. \$1.00.
- THREE TYPES OF RURAL ECONOMY IN YUNNAN.** By Yu-I Li, Hsiao-Tung Fei and Tse-I Chang. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943. 35 pp. \$0.25.
- WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS.** Edited by Rayford W. Logan. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. 352 pp. \$3.50.
- HOW TO BE THE SMART WOMAN IN WAR TIME.** By Rebecca (Lynn). Illustrated by William A. Youngblood. Richmond, Virginia: The House of Dietz, 1943. 107 pp. \$1.50.
- FREEDOM AND CIVILIZATION.** By Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: Roy Publishers, 1944. 338 pp. \$3.50.
- A SCIENTIFIC THEORY OF CULTURE AND OTHER ESSAYS.** By Bronislaw Malinowski. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. 228 pp. \$3.00.
- THE MIRACLE OF AMERICA.** By André Maurois. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944. 428 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.
- PREJUDICE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS: SYMBOL OF RACIAL INTOLERANCE.** By Carey McWilliams. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944. 337 pp. \$3.00.
- PAPERS OF THE INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH AND TRAINING IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY. COTTON IN PEACE AND WAR.** By John F. Maloney. Nashville Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, March, 1944. 52 pp. Tables. \$0.50.
- PUBLIC RURAL ELECTRIFICATION.** By Frederick William Muller. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 183 pp. Paper edition, \$2.50; Cloth edition, \$3.00.
- KOREA: FORGOTTEN NATION.** By Robert T. Oliver. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 138 pp. Appendices. \$2.25 cloth edition; \$1.50 paper edition.
- JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS CABINET.** By Rembert W. Patrick. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. 401 pp. \$3.75.
- BURIAT MONGOLIA: A BRIEF SURVEY OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.** By V. I. Pomus. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943. 76 pp. \$1.00.
- A POSTWAR FEDERAL TAX PLAN FOR HIGH EMPLOYMENT.** The Research Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. New York: August, 1944. 47 pp. Tables.
- LINCOLN AND AN URGENT WORLD PROBLEM.** By Arthur Upham Pope. Fourth Annual Lincoln Lecture, Cooper Union, N. Y., February 12, 1943. New York: The Iranian Institute. 25 pp.
- PROBING OUR PREJUDICES.** By Hortense Powdermaker. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. 73 pp. \$1.00.
- HITLER'S WORDS. TWO DECADES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM, 1923-1943.** Edited by Gordon W. Prange. With an Introduction by Frederick Schuman. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 400 pp. Paper edition, \$3.25; Cloth edition, \$3.75.
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL ALUMNI CONFERENCES, 1941, 1942, 1943.** Los Angeles, California: Alumni Association of the Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California. 76 pp. \$1.00.
- REGIONALISM AND WORLD ORGANIZATION. POST-WAR ASPECTS OF EUROPE'S GLOBAL RELATIONSHIPS. A SYMPOSIUM OF THE INSTITUTE ON WORLD ORGANIZATION.** Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 162 pp. Paper edition, \$2.00; Cloth edition, \$2.50.
- A PSYCHOLOGIST LOOKS AT LOVE.** By Theodor Reik. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1944. 300 pp. \$3.00.
- REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON COUNTRY LIFE.** With an Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. 150 pp. \$1.75.
- THE SCHOLAR AND THE FUTURE OF THE RESEARCH LIBRARY. A PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION.** By Fremont Rider. New York: Hadham Press, 1944. 236 pp. \$4.00.
- A PATTERN FOR CHARLOTTE.** By Coleman W. Roberts. Charlotte, N. C.: The Charlotte Planning Committee, 1944. 63 pp. Illustrated. Maps. Tables.
- WESTWARD THE WOMEN.** By Nancy Wilson Ross. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. 199 pp. \$2.75.
- FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY.** By Beardsley Ruml and H. Chr. Sonne. Washington, D. C.: National Planning Association, July, 1944. 42 pp. Tables. \$0.25.
- UNITED NATIONS AGREEMENTS.** Edited by M. B. Schnapper. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 376 pp. \$3.75 cloth edition; \$3.25 paper edition.
- LABOR AND LABOR RELATIONS IN THE NEW INDUSTRIES OF SOUTHWEST CHINA.** By Kuo-Heng Shih and Ju-K'Ang T'ien. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943. 45 pp. \$0.50.
- AN EXPERIMENT IN MODIFYING ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO.** By F. Tredwell Smith. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. 135 pp. \$1.85.
- SOCIAL POLICY IN DEPENDENT TERRITORIES.** International Labour Office. Montreal, Canada: 1944. 182 pp. Appendices. \$1.50.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1944. 32 pp. \$0.10.

A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO FAMILY CASE WORK. Edited by Jessie Taft. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 208 pp. \$2.50.

THE PREDICAMENT OF MODERN MAN. By D. Elton Trueblood. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. 105 pp. \$1.00.

TUSKEGEE AND THE BLACK BELT. A PORTRAIT OF A RACE. By Anne Kendrick Walker. Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1944. 180 pp. \$3.00.

DEMOCRACY REBORN. By Henry A. Wallace. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1944. 280 pp. \$3.00.

OUR JOB IN THE PACIFIC. By Henry A. Wallace. New York: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944. 56 pp. \$0.25. Illustrated. Maps.

VETERAN COMES BACK. By Willard Waller. New York: The Dryden Press, 1944. 316 pp. \$2.75.

MODERN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES AND WHAT THEY MEAN. By Louis Wasserman. Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1944. 287 pp. \$0.69.

WHO READS?

The following summary of a tabulation of readers comes from the Montclair Library:

There are four or five times as many readers among a given number of skilled workers as among the same number of unskilled workers, if indications are correct as suggested by figures recently compiled by means of the unique business machines at the Montclair Library; and, as might have been guessed, in no other occupational class do as large a proportion of individuals read—or at least use the Library for books—as in the professional, semi-professional, and managerial group.

These and other figures on Montclair Library use, assembled for study not only by the Montclair Library itself, but issued by them for contemplation in other libraries and library schools as well, indicate plainly a number of recent occupational fluctuations: for instance, the shift of women to certain types of paid work since Pearl Harbor, and the strong reenforcement women from homes have given to business and industry during the war period.

For example, the number of Montclair women in the professional, semi-professional, and managerial group, in 1940, according to the United States census, was 1010; the number of women registering at the Library between July 1941 and January 1944 as of this occupational group, is 1104. In other words, the Library has registered, during the last two and a half years, 109 per cent as many women in this category as were included in the category in Montclair before the war. Allowing for the women not registered at the Library, the migration toward this field, and the prevalence of readers among the migrants, is evident. (About half the Library registration was made between July 1941 and January 1942, under peace conditions; the balance since.)

Compared to the census figure numbering Montclair women who were in skilled work in 1940, the Library's 1941-1944 registrations in the same group total 68 per cent. Yet only 33 per cent as many housewives are listed in the Library files as were numbered in the census records. All this is pertinent evidence of women's diversion from housekeeping to important paid jobs.

Another war exigency is reflected in the percentages expressing student use of the Library. Library registrations include only 66 per cent as many men students over fifteen years of age as the census recorded, but 99 per cent as many girl students of the same ages. The absence of men students at war likely accounts for all, or practically all, of this difference.

It is presumed that in general deferment from the armed forces has been granted more often to the man who typically does much reading than to the one who characteristically reads little; so the normal variation in reading tendencies is probably exaggerated somewhat in the present figures. That is, while skilled workers, for instance, commonly read more than unskilled, there may at present be enough skilled workers deferred to over-emphasize the natural difference. Yet among women, the contrast between percentages of readers in the skilled and unskilled groups is somewhat greater than among the men—with no figures available to serve as a check on whether women have entered the two groups in equal proportion, or whether an advent of women into the skilled group at a greater rate than into the unskilled may have thrown peacetime ratios out of balance.

The variations in Library use by this occupational area, expressed in percentages Library users hold to census numbers, are: Men: skilled, 22.5 per cent; semi-skilled, 8 per cent; unskilled, 5 per cent; Women: skilled, 68 per cent; semi-skilled, 3.5 per cent; unskilled, 12 per cent.

Those who have taken part in the early discussion of these figures at the Library feel that figures as to women's occupations may be indicative also of an attitude of contemporary women toward housework compared to other occupations. In the early registering of women, during 1941, many protests were received by housewives against being classified as such, in a general category which took no account of their skilled or unskilled handling of that job; of their managerial or domestic service attitudes and ability levels within their territory; nor of the breadth or narrowness of their interests and their scopes within the community. It is believed that many women registering at the Library since war gave them a need—or excuse—for shifting from housework, list themselves, even if they are working outside the home only a small part of the time, as belonging to the better-differentiated paid work groups where they spend a few hours a day or week, rather than to the general and indeterminate position of housewife. Perhaps here is an indication that if many intelligent women are to remain contentedly in homes, it would be valuable to work out some more adequate recognition of the heights which many achieve within this field. The same recognition should serve also to stimulate advancement within this working area, where, even at best, recognition of talent, comparison of achievement, and the stimulation offered by joint effort and competition, is slight.